

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

Reagan met by protests in Canada 3
Behind Ethiopian famine 5
Lessons of copper strike 11

VOL. 49/NO. 12 MARCH 29, 1985 75 CENTS

U.S.-Honduran war games a threat to Nicaragua

BY HARRY RING

With little fanfare, the Pentagon is now conducting major military maneuvers in Honduras. Staged jointly with Honduran forces, "Big Pine III" is the fourth big exercise there in two years.

For the first time, tanks are being sent to Honduras for use in the maneuvers.

The officially stated purpose of Big Pine is to discourage Nicaragua from invading Honduras.

This is, of course, a patently absurd lie. The Nicaraguan workers and peasants are straining every ounce of energy to beat back the U.S.-organized mercenary assault and to hold off a direct invasion by U.S. forces. They're hardly looking to invade other countries.

But Big Pine makes clear that the danger of a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua is no fantasy.

These maneuvers, conducted on an unprecedented scale, are far more than a bullying show of force. They are a dress rehearsal for an invasion of Nicaragua when and if a political opening is provided.

The aim of the U.S.-organized war is to overthrow the workers' and peasants' power in Nicaragua. The immediate goal of the counterrevolutionaries, known as *contras* in Spanish, is to seize a piece of Nicaraguan territory and establish an alternative government. Washington would formally recognize and openly aid the puppet government, thus opening the door to direct U.S. military intervention to defend the contra regime from attacks by the armed Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

That's why serious military preparations are so important. The aim of the Big Pine is to ensure that such an invasion will be executed with maximum clout, efficiency, and success — and cost the least political price.

Lessons of Grenada

An important purpose of Big Pine is to benefit from the experience of the 1983 U.S. invasion of Grenada — "Lessons Learned," as their secret reports on that invasion are called.

And, as far as the ruling class and Penta-



Massive U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers, "Big Pine III," are dress rehearsal for future U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. Above, 258th Army Corps of Engineers arrives in Palmerola, Honduras, to clear airstrips for military exercises.

gon brass are concerned, there are crucial lessons to be learned from that invasion.

While the media was barred from covering the assault on Grenada, facts have emerged confirming that the U.S. forces suffered near-disastrous difficulties.

These stemmed primarily from hasty, last-minute planning, lack of coordination between the various military branches, lack of necessary experience among the participating officers and troops, and old-fashioned military bungling.

Capitalist politicians and the big business media have boasted proudly of the famous victory of the U.S. military juggernaut in overwhelming 120,000 Grena-

dians. But, even from their standpoint, there wasn't that much to boast about.

The Grenadian working people, and their armed forces, were in total disarray as a result of the counterrevolution that toppled the workers and farmers government led by Maurice Bishop, principal leader of the 1979 Grenada revolution. Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard had Bishop and other central leaders of the revolutionary government murdered, thus politically disarming the workers and farmers and handing imperialism the revolution on a silver platter.

If the invaders had faced a ready, united

Continued on Page 6

Grain traders pit farmer against farmer

BY DOUG JENNESS

In February President Reagan's administration unveiled a new farm program that aims to make U.S. farm products more competitive on the world market.

By drastically reducing the price level at which the government will offer support loans and subsidies to farmers, the administration hopes to lower the prevailing market price of U.S. farm exports. Currently the prices of many U.S.-grown foods are well above those in most other countries.

The proposed measures, Agriculture Department officials concede, will mean less income for farmers per unit of each crop sold, thus forcing thousands of farmers off the land. But, they argue, the plan will spur sales abroad and bring better times for "efficient" and "well-managed" farms in the United States.

Reagan's scheme also calls for the government "to promote open access in world markets for U.S. agricultural exports" by pressing other governments to lower trade barriers on agricultural imports into their countries. If these efforts are unsuccessful, retaliatory measures against imports into the United States will be considered.

Export of agricultural commodities plays a gigantic role in the U.S. economy. Agriculture contributed \$20 billion to the U.S. balance of payments in 1983, par-

tially offsetting a large trade deficit in the nonagricultural sector. In 1981 crops from about two out of five acres harvested on U.S. farms were exported. More than one-half of the rice, wheat, soybeans, and cotton were exported, as well as more than one-fourth of the corn.

A major expansion of U.S. food exports began in the early 1970s when the big grain merchants, with government backing, launched a drive to greatly increase the ex-

port of grain that could not be profitably sold in the United States and was piling up in storage depots. They were aided in this effort by Pres. Richard Nixon's devaluation of the dollar in 1971, which made U.S. products relatively less expensive on the world market. The government also offered tax breaks and other forms of subsidy to promote food exports.

The big source of new markets was in

Continued on Page 9

Police attack Missouri farmers' protest

BY JOHN STAGGS

PLATTSBURG, Mo. — Over 1,000 farmers, unionists, high-school students, and townspeople participated in a March 15 rally and demonstration in front of the courthouse here to protest the foreclosure sale of 73-year-old Perry Wilson, Sr.'s, 700 acres.

After the rally, protesters shouting "No sale! No sale!" crowded before the courthouse to block the sale. The cops, failing to push back the crowd, grabbed eight protesters and beat and arrested them. Organizers immediately reconvened the rally to protest the cop attack and guarantee the safety of

those arrested.

The rally was called two weeks ago at the American Agriculture Movement's (AAM) Agriculture Crisis Conference in Jefferson City, Missouri. The initiating organizations included the AAM, the National Farm Organization, and the North American Farm Alliance. The groups adopted the name Missouri Groundswell.

Labor support for the rally was impressive. Matt Snell, president of Kansas City United Auto Workers (UAW) Community Action Program, participated in the planning meetings. Some 200 UAW members, including the presidents of three Kansas

April 20 antiwar actions build steam

BY JOHN STUDER

WASHINGTON, D.C. — As Washington carries out massive military maneuvers to practice for an invasion of Nicaragua, national and local efforts to build the April 19-22 Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice are picking up steam.

This was clear from the deliberations of the March 9 steering committee meeting of the national coalition, which included representatives from national organizations and local coalitions.

The committee heard a series of reports by staff members and other coalition leaders reflecting the significant progress made in preparing for the April 20 mass demonstration and the other activities. This progress has been accomplished since a February 28 emergency steering committee meeting.

The demands of the actions are: stop U.S. military intervention in Central America; oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home; freeze and reverse the arms race; create jobs, cut the military budget.

Gwen McKinney from the National Alliance of Third World Journalists and the staff member responsible for media work, reported on plans to publicize the April Actions, including an ambitious series of press conferences.

Staff member Susan McCarn reported on plans for involving artistic and cultural activists in the events, especially during the April 20 march and rally. Four large sculptures are being built to reflect the central demands of the action.

Susan Bailey outlined the current status of efforts to secure the necessary legal permits and marshaling forces to assure an orderly and smooth march.

Staff member Josh Bornstein, who works as liaison with local coalitions around the country, reported on an impressive packet of materials that was distributed to aid local coalitions. Local groups have been organized in 32 cities to build the actions in Washington and those planned simultaneously for San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other cities.

In the packets were a series of sample letters designed to aid local coalitions to reach out to involve Blacks, veterans, Latinos, women's rights groups, and students.

A letter signed by three veterans' leaders explained that in Central America, "the issue is not national security, so much as hungry, oppressed people trying to exercise their right of self-determination: once again the United States plays the role it has for the last century in Central America —

Continued on Page 4

City UAW locals, attended the rally. Railroad workers from the United Transportation Union (UTU) and the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way participated, as well as members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 53 and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1650.

Support statements were read from the Kansas City chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW); Claude Thornton, president of UAW Local 93; Larry Foreman, president of UAW Local 249; and Bob McCoy of UAW Local 710.

Continued on Page 8

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NORTH TARRYTOWN, N.Y. — This town, about an hour north of Manhattan on the Hudson River, comes alive around 5 a.m. each morning as 2,000 auto workers pour into the giant General Motors assembly plant.

On hand to greet them most Mondays is a team of from three to five *Militant* salespeople.

For the team members, it's usually a rewarding experience. This morning — in 20 degree weather — three of us sold three *Militants* and one *Perspectiva Mundial*. Two weeks ago we sold seven or eight papers, and on occasion we have sold as many as ten or eleven.

* * * * *

to Framingham, Massachusetts, to keep their jobs during the last big layoff. When full production resumed at Tarrytown, they had to move back.

Now the first shift, the one we sell to, is back up to full strength. And a second shift of 2,000 has been added to keep up with the demand for production. The change in the composition of the workforce has been dramatic. Now it's common to see women, younger workers, more Blacks, and to hear Spanish in the parking lot.

* * * * *

"Is this a communist newspaper?" a white worker in his 30s asked as he rolled down his window. "That's right," I said, not quite knowing what to expect next.

"How much?" he replied, as he dug into his pocket for change.

There is a tradition of political activity at this plant. From 1979 until the big layoff in 1982, half a dozen members of the Socialist Workers Party worked on the assembly line. Sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have been conducted on and off for the

last six years — more regularly recently.

Our team began last fall by selling on the street outside the plant, at a traffic light just before the parking lot entrance. As the team got to be a regular part of the scene, "once or twice people had their money ready as they pulled up to the stoplight," says Mary, one of the team members. "They knew they wanted this particular newspaper."

After we became more familiar with the plant, we began selling in the big parking lot itself. This proved far more productive. Those who wanted to buy the paper didn't have to back up traffic for half a block by stopping to fish for a bill. And we got a chance to talk a little, hand out leaflets for upcoming forums, for the socialist bookstore, and for the New York City socialist mayoral campaign (some of the workers here live in the northern part of New York City).

* * * * *

Because of transportation and work schedule problems, we don't



Militant/Michael Baumann

Early morning plant-gate sale at General Motors in Tarrytown, New York.

make this sale every week. But when we do have a car available, we try to make it — no matter what.

One hard decision the team had to make was what to do the coldest morning of the year, back in January, when it was predicted that the temperature, with the wind chill, would be 40 to 60 degrees below zero. We debated whether anyone

would even open their car window in this weather to see what we had to sell. But we decided to try it anyway.

We sold only one paper, but we were glad we had gone. We were sure that people who may not have stopped that day would buy the paper later. They had seen how serious these communists were about getting out their press.

Militant-Perspectiva sales drive gets under way

BY TOM LEONARD

The week after the March 15 issue of the *Militant* reported plans for a 10-week single-sales and subscription drive to win new readers to the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*, there was a sharp increase in the number of papers ordered by Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance branches and chapters around the country.

Even before most local goals for the national sales drive target of 30,000 single copies and 2,150 subscriptions could be discussed and decided, bundle orders for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* increased by a combined total of 1,210 papers in the first week alone. The drive ends on May 18.

Equally impressive was the decision in some areas of the country to start increased sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and decide the goals later.

Dallas sales teams sold 71 *Militants*, 16 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and six *Young Socialists* the first Saturday of the drive. The *YS* is a monthly newspaper circulated by the YSA.

Seattle sold 81 *Militants* and one *Perspectiva Mundial*. San Diego sold 32 *Militants*, 16 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and six *Young Socialists*, also on the first day of the drive.

Philadelphia socialists sold 50 *Militants* on Saturday with only half of their sales teams able to participate. The rest were tied up putting in job applications at industrial plants that do their hiring on Saturdays.

Some Philadelphia sales campaigners introduce themselves to perspective readers by asking them if they've heard about the antiwar march on Washington. Others have gotten a good response by saying, "I'm campaigning against the war in Central America." They then show copies of leaflets announcing antiwar activities, discuss the war, and usually wind up selling a *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*. Philadelphia socialists have set a single-sales quota of 1,000, including 850 *Militants* and 150 *Perspectiva Mundials*. They have also set a tentative goal of 40 *Militant* and 15 *Perspectiva Mundial* subscriptions during the sales drive.

The Newark SWP has taken a quota of 1,800 single copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* and is planning to sell 175 subscriptions to the two socialist publications.

The first Saturday of the sales drive socialist campaigners in Newark were petitioning to put Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New Jersey, Mark Satinoff, on the ballot. They were still able to sell 65 *Militants*, 20 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and 10 *Young Socialists*, while averaging 40 signatures an hour at the same time.

Houston took a tentative single-sales quota of 1,000 *Militants* and *Perspectiva Mundials*. They are planning a sales team to the Rio Grande valley to sell and discuss with working farmers and farm workers in that area.

An early list of single-sales targets from around the country is: New York, 1,800;

Toledo, 850; Dallas, 500; Baltimore, 800; Atlanta, 700; Charleston, 290; Milwaukee, 350; and Salt Lake City, 600. Most areas are still working out the important subscription goals, which will be reported later.

An example of how plant-gate sales help complement building the April 20 antiwar actions was demonstrated by sales teams in

the Bay Area a week before the drive began. They expanded plant gate sales at 7 work sites and sold 15 *Militants*. They also gave out hundreds of leaflets building a "Labor Speak Out" in San Francisco to build April 20. This was the first opportunity a lot of rank-and-file union members had to hear about labor's growing participation in the antiwar movement.

Miss. court ruling forces teachers to call off strike

BY BILL ANDERSON

NEW ORLEANS — The 13,000-member Mississippi Association of Educators (MAE) ended its month-long strike on Monday, March 18. The union's decision came after Judge Paul Alexander found it in criminal contempt of court for having defied an earlier order that banned the strike.

Earlier that morning, Judge Alexander had ordered two-day suspended sentences for 18 MEA officials.

At the press conference calling off the strike, MAE president Alice Harden told reporters that "it is the position of the MAE Board of Directors that continuing the job action at this time will only hurt those dedicated teachers participating and recommends that all teachers be in their classroom on Tuesday morning."

Since criminal contempt carries a jail

term, Harden said continuing the strike would result in "severe, punitive actions" against the teachers. She hailed the strike, which received widespread support throughout the state as having "altered the course of Mississippi legislation and politics forever."

Two hours after the union was forced to call off the strike, Mississippi Gov. Bill Allain vetoed a bill passed March 17 by the state legislature that gave the teachers — the lowest paid in the country — a \$4,400 raise over three years.

The next day the legislature overrode the veto, approving the pay package. Harden said afterwards, "Mississippi's commitment to its teachers is still not met, but I think that over the last three or four weeks we have served notice that we are coming out of the woodwork."

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!

That way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the United States. Read our proposals on how to stop the bipartisan U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the employer offensive here. Read our ideas on what it will take to replace this system of exploitation, racism, and sexism with a system that's in the interest of working people.

At the plant gates, picket lines, and unemployment lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the

news, participating in the struggle. To subscribe today, fill out the attached coupon.

Enclosed is: \$3 for 12 weeks \$15 for 6 months
 \$24 for 1 year A contribution

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Telephone _____

Union/Organization _____

Send to *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014



The Militant

Closing news date: March 20, 1985

Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Andrea Gonzalez, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Tom Leonard, Karen Newton, Mohammed Oliver, Harry Ring.

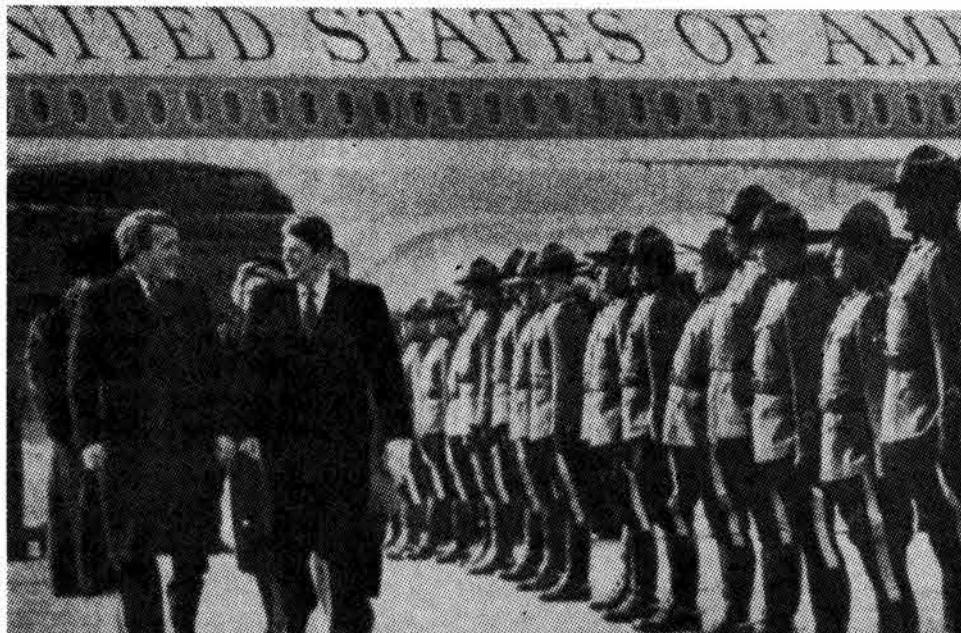
Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the *Militant* (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The *Militant* Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The *Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant*'s views. These are expressed in editorials.

Antiwar protests greet Reagan in Quebec



Ronald Reagan with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at Quebec airport. Reagan was met by protests against U.S. war in Central America and U.S.-Canadian nuclear arms build-up.

Socialist Publications Fund drive: St. Louis auto workers lead way

BY PAT GROGAN

Just a few days after launching our fund drive, the Socialist Publications Fund got the following letter from a socialist auto worker in St. Louis:

"Recently, the Chrysler Corp. announced it would give its employees a 'bonus' of \$500. Those of us who work there had a discussion on what we could do with part of the money to help build the socialist movement."

"We had a good discussion on how Chrysler was using this money to try to influence a layer of newer workers before a major contract fight. The union leadership put out a special handbill a few days after the bonus was announced. It denounced Lee Iaccoca and Chrysler management for the size of the bonus, which is just a pittance compared to the money we lost in concessions since the 1979 contract. The union said it should be more like \$5,000 and that would only be a start, and a lot of our coworkers had the same attitude."

"We thought the best way to use part of this money — in the spirit of fightback — would be to send directly to the Socialist Publications Fund \$200 each out of the \$350 we got from the bonus after taxes. Enclosed with this letter are checks from the eight of us who work at Chrysler or who were laid off, but qualified for the bonus."

* * *

Last week the Socialist Publications Fund was launched. Our goal is to raise \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance the publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial*, as well as *Intercontinental Press*, the *New International*, and socialist books like the forthcoming *Nicaragua: the Sandinista People's Revolution*.

The fundraising effort goes hand in hand with plans to increase the circulation of the

Militant and *Perspectiva Mundial* by selling 30,000 copies and 2,500 introductory subscriptions between now and May 18. We hope that all of our readers will participate in both efforts.

The majority of SWP and YSA members are industrial workers and belong to nine major unions: the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; International Association of Machinists; International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; International Union of Electronic Workers; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; United Auto Workers; United Mine Workers of America; United Steelworkers of America; and the United Transportation Union.

It is the socialist workers in these industrial unions who are spearheading the fund-raising effort and the drive to expand sales of the press. Socialists in each industrial union are holding discussions and will set goals and organize to contribute to the fund, win new readers to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and encourage coworkers and other working people to do the same.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* play a central role in the discussions going on among workers in the industrial unions about the capitalist economic crisis and the drive deeper into war in Central America.

More and more articles in our press are written by union members and reflect the struggles and discussion on the shop floor and picket line.

When the Wilberg mine disaster in Utah hit last December, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* were able to carry firsthand accounts by members of the United Mine Workers who participated in the relief effort and one of whom worked in the Wilberg mine.

Louis Long reports that copies of the front page article of the March 15 *Militant*, "Pan Am workers strike to defend union," were photocopied and posted around the Transport Workers Union Local 500 hall in

In the March 22 issue of the *Militant*, we launched the Socialist Publications Fund with the goal of raising \$75,000 by June 15.

A major purpose of the fund is to help finance publication of the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and other socialist publication projects.

Checks should be made out to: Socialist Publications Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014.

Enclosed is my contribution to the Socialist Publications Fund of \$ _____

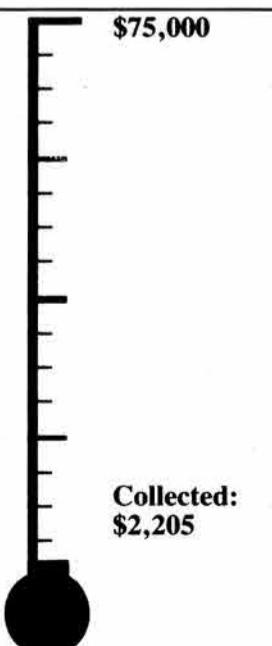
Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone _____

Organization/Union _____



BY PAUL KOURI

QUEBEC CITY, Canada — Chanting "Yankee go home," and "Reagan, Murderer," some 5,000 protesters from across Quebec converged here March 17 to demonstrate their opposition to the "Shamrock Summit" between Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and U.S. Pres. Ronald Reagan.

Opposition to the deepening U.S. war in Central America was the central theme of the overwhelmingly youthful demonstration. Banners and placards demanding "British troops out of Northern Ireland," "End to apartheid in South Africa," "U.S. out of the Philippines," and "Reagan out of Quebec," were also visible.

Opposition to the U.S. and Canadian nuclear-arms build-up — cruise missile tests, "Star Wars," and the new radar warning network to be built in Northern Canada — was another popular theme. Highlighting the failure of the summit to take steps to deal with acid rain, Greenpeace launched a 30-foot balloon asking Reagan, "Where's the fish?"

The demonstration was organized by the Coalition for Peace, Justice and Freedom; a broad coalition of unions; youth and women's groups; Central America solidarity committees; and peace, ecology, and left groups.

The coalition's platform explains that "The American government is the principal leader of the antinational and antisocial offensive of the bosses and their governments throughout the world . . . we solidarize with the American workers, women, youth, and national minorities who are struggling against Reaganism and its effects . . . we also solidarize with the youth of Nicaragua who are struggling to defend their country, their social and democratic revolution against U.S. aggression."

The summit marked a further increase in the close collaboration between the Canadian and U.S. governments in the war drive:

- An increase in Canadian troops assigned to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Europe.

- Canadian participation in and support for the U.S. space research program, "Star Wars."

- A U.S.-Canada treaty to upgrade the radar network called the North Warning System.

- Mulroney's reaffirmation that Canada is not neutral, but a close ally of U.S. imperialism.

Canada's conservative government consciously chose Quebec City to host the highly publicized summit. External Affairs Minister Clark explained that this would help assure big business that Quebec is now a stable and reliable place to invest, and that the danger of the oppressed Quebec nation separating from Canada is now a thing of the past.

In fact, the struggle for Quebec's national rights has suffered a series of blows at the hands of the Canadian government. By unilaterally amending Canada's constitution in 1982, it deprived the Quebec government of its veto power over future constitutional changes and undermined its ability to protect and promote French as a language of public education. Bowing to imperialist pressure, the *Parti Québécois* (PQ) leadership recently decided to shelve the independence demand. The PQ heads the Quebec government.

Canadian authorities and the media did all in their power to create the impression that the *Québécois* welcomed and were honored by Reagan's visit. *Québécois* artists, PQ government ministers, and union leaders such as Louis Laberge of the 400,000-member Quebec Federation of Labor were invited to the ceremonies. Massive security arrangements were put in place.

In spite of all these efforts to discourage any form of protest, the turnout for the demonstration was double what the organizers predicted. Questions and opposition raised in the House of Commons by the New Democratic Party (Canada's trade-union based Labor Party) — and to a lesser extent the Liberals — over closer U.S.-Canada military ties, especially around nuclear weapons, reflect the broad unease throughout Canada with the convergent war policies of both governments.

González joins N.Y. St. Patrick's parade

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, Andrea González, joined George Harrison, a long-time activist in the Irish freedom struggle, at the St. Patrick's Day parade here March 16.

González extended her solidarity to the activists in the H-Block/Armagh Committee, a defense committee for political prisoners in the north of Ireland. The committee had prepared a special leaflet to build the April 20 national antiwar demonstration in Washington, D.C., for the parade. González, along with her supporters, joined these activists in building the action.

González explained to a group of participants who stopped to get campaign literature the parallel between the British occupation of Northern Ireland and the U.S. war in Nicaragua. Several parade participants were interested in going to Washington for April 20.

BUILDING APRIL 19-22 ANTIWAR ACTIONS

A broad coalition of peace and civil rights organizations and several trade unions have called for protests in Washington, D.C., April 19-22, highlighted by a mass march and rally on April 20. Actions will also be held in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities.

The demands of the protests are: stop U.S. military intervention in Central America; oppose U.S. government and corporate support for South African apartheid and overcome racism at home; freeze and reverse the arms race; create jobs, cut the military budget.

To contact the national coalition, write or call: April Actions for Peace, Jobs and Justice, Box 2598, Washington, D.C. 20013-2598; (202) 667-9485.

USWA Vice President Leon Lynch pledges union support

BY SUSAN LOMAN

CLEVELAND — United Steelworkers of America (USWA) International Vice Pres. Leon Lynch pledged his support and that of his union for the April 20 demonstration at a town meeting of 250 people here at Cleveland State University on March 3.

The meeting was sponsored by the Peace Action Coalition of Northeast Ohio (PACNO) and the Students, Faculty and Staff for Social Responsibility.

The chair introduced Lynch by reporting that he had recently spent two days in jail as part of the ongoing anti-South Africa protests in Washington, D.C.

The Steelworkers helped build the March 3 meeting. Frank Valenta, district director of District 28 of the USWA, sent out a mailing to the locals in his district an-

nouncing the meeting and the fact that Lynch would be speaking at it.

Joe Lindenmuth, president of USWA Local 2265 at LTV Steel — the largest Steelworkers local in the area — had a full-page article on the back page of the local's newsletter about the April 20 demonstration and the town meeting.

The article reported that the local had voted on February 12 to allocate funds to send members to the April 20 action.

Several steelworkers attended the meeting.

Lynch said it was important for the Steelworkers union to see the link between what happens in Central America and South Africa and what's happening to working people in the United States. Calling the racist apartheid system in South Africa an "abomination," Lynch reported on the recent success in forcing the South African government to close down its consulate in Pittsburgh.

Lynch repeatedly pledged his support and that of the USWA to the effort to build April 20. He contributed \$200 to the fund-raising effort.

Other featured speakers were Roberto Vargas, minister counselor of labor and cultural affairs, Nicaraguan Embassy; Sister Cindy Drennan, coordinator of the Inter-Religious Task Force on El Salvador and Central America; Helen Seidman, field coordinator for Ohio Freeze; and Jerry Gordon, international representative of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union and coordinator of the Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America/the Caribbean.

The meeting voted unanimously to support the call for a local demonstration in downtown Cleveland at noon on March 30 to help build April 20.



Steelworkers vice-president Leon Lynch pledged USWA's support for April 20 action.

The combined donations from the evening meeting and a reception earlier in the day netted PACNO close to \$2,000 — half of which was sent to the national April Actions office.

To contact PACNO, write or call: P.O. Box 21101, Cleveland, Ohio 44121; (216) 861-7999 or (216) 566-0498.

UTU workers will march in San Francisco

BY HARRY MESERVE

SAN JOSE, Calif. — More than 125 trade unionists, peace activists, and representatives of community organizations met here on February 24 to kick off the building for the San Francisco April 20 demonstration in San Jose and the southern Bay Area.

The meeting was called by the executive board of the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council and was chaired by its business agent, Peter Cervantes-Gautsch.

Al Lannon, president of Inter-

national Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6, told the meeting that labor had learned from its experience during the Vietnam War. Some important sections of the union movement, he said, are beginning to come forward to play a leading role in the developing opposition to the U.S. government's war in Central America.

Members of United Transportation Union (UTU) locals 31 and 100, which represent engineers and firemen on the Southern Pacific Railroad, are organizing a UTU contingent in the San Francisco march.

Local 100 vice president, Emily Friend, and Mike Flanigan, the local's secretary, have both endorsed the demonstration. Dave Disalvo, chairman of Local 31, heads up the coalition's logistics committee. And two Bay Area locals of the UTU that organize bus drivers have also endorsed.

Six farm workers from the Salinas Valley attended the February 24 meeting, which was held at Casa del Pueblo, the hall of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 428. The local's president, George Soares, is the coalition's treasurer. Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 is hosting the outreach committee.

The NAACP, Mexican American Political Association, MECHA (a Chicano student organization), and the National Organization for Women also helped pull together the coalition. The meeting voted overwhelmingly to organize a special train — to be called the "Harriet Tubman" after the Black antislavery fighter — to bring marchers from San Jose to San Francisco.

The coalition can be contacted at the Spring Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice, 2102 Almaden Road, San Jose, Calif. 95125; (408) 266-3790.

St. Louis: aid for Nicaragua; reach out to auto workers union

BY MAREA HIMELGRIN

ST. LOUIS — A spirited rally was held here on February 22 to build April 20. It was highlighted by the presentation of a check for \$5,250 from the St. Louis Latin America Solidarity Committee to Ricardo Espinoza, a counselor from the Nicaraguan embassy.

The money was raised to build a school in northern Nicaragua after members of the committee went on a two-week tour of Nicaragua last May, where they saw the devastation caused by Washington's war.

Also speaking at the rally were David Rathke of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, and Hilary Shelton, the Midwest regional coordinator of The National Organization of Black University and College Students.

The next day, the local chapter of the Labor Committee hosted a breakfast meeting with Espinoza for unionists. The counselor invited them to visit Nicaragua and a tour is in the works.

St. Louis April Mobilization Coalition representatives have addressed United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 282, the UAW St. Louis City Community Action Program Council, and the UAW Metro St. Louis Retirees Chapter. All voted to endorse April 20. Local 282 and the CAP Council voted to send two people each. A member of the CAP Council who's also a member of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists has been participating in coalition meetings.

To contact the coalition, call or write: 438 North Skinker, St. Louis, Mo. 63130; (314) 862-5770 or 725-2393.

April antiwar actions steering committee meets

Continued from front page

defending the status quo, the privileged, and the military dictatorships in the name of democracy."

A dozen supporters of women's rights signed the appeal to women to get involved in the April Actions. "For women, Reagan's failure to act decisively against abortion-clinic bombings has given us one of many clear signals that attacks on women's rights will continue to be a hallmark of his administration," they explain. Massive military spending and cuts in social programs "have a particularly harsh impact on poor and Third World women."

Signers of the letter to women include: Winona LaDuke, Women's Indigenous Network; Bella Abzug; Angela Davis; Holly Near; Leslie Cagan, Mobilization for Survival; Bylye Avery, Director of the National Black Women's Health Project; leaders of the Nicaragua solidarity group MADRE; and national leaders of Women Strike for Peace and Women's Interna-

tional League for Peace and Freedom.

Damu Smith, national coordinator for the April Actions, reported on efforts to mobilize a big turnout in the "host" cities for the D.C. actions — Washington and Baltimore.

Smith also discussed national outreach moves to broaden leadership participation in the coalition and to construct an ongoing movement to fight for peace and justice. He said that, while no one can guess how many people will finally end up marching through the streets of Washington on April 20, he was confident that tens of thousands would mobilize in this significant political protest against Washington's racist and in-

terventionist policies.

Two reports were given which reflected efforts by coalition leaders to follow up on key problems discussed by the February emergency steering committee meeting.

Leslie Cagan gave a report from the coalition's Administrative Committee recommending steps to strengthen the coalition's ability to meet the organizational and financial challenges in the weeks remaining before the actions.

Gene Carroll, labor-outreach coordinator for the National Nuclear Freeze and for the April Actions Coalitions, and staff member Kay Shaw, gave a progress report on fundraising. Thousands of dollars had

been raised in the first week of the march toward the coalition's projected budget of more than \$100,000.

A report was also given on plans for the activities on April 19, 21, and 22, including: civil disobedience, a multi-faith religious service, a lobby day, and a projected South Africa protest event.

Representatives from local coalitions gave encouraging reports on progress in mobilizing people for the demonstrations.

The next national steering committee meeting will be on Saturday, March 30. For more information about the meeting, or to get involved in building the demonstrations, call the coalition at (202) 667-9485.

N.C. suit against Klan-gov't goes to court

BY ROSE HENRY

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — Trial proceedings began last week in the U.S. Middle District Court here in a \$48 million lawsuit against federal government officials; the city of Greensboro, North Carolina; a number of police agents; and members of the Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party. The suit was filed by relatives of the victims of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi shootings of Nov. 3, 1979. On that day demonstrators at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro were gunned down. The attack left five members of the Communist Workers Party dead.

In the words of Dr. George Simkins, president of the Greensboro NAACP, "This trial is of extreme importance. It is the last opportunity to see that some sort of justice prevails in the killings of five innocent persons." Two previous trials resulted in acquittal of the Klansmen and Nazis on charges of first degree murder, rioting, and conspiring to violate the civil rights of demonstrators. Both trials were heard before all-white juries.

In the current trial, as before, the government has tried to turn the victims into the criminals. It charges that the only conspiracy involved was a conspiracy by the demonstrators to use Blacks and labor unionists in confrontations with groups such as the Klan. The Communist Workers Party did this in order to "push their cause," according to the government.

U.S. District Judge Robert Mehrige, presiding in the current trial, has bolstered this claim by ruling, during the jury-selection process, that the Klansmen and Nazis can file countersuits. These countersuits claim it was the civil rights of the Klansmen and Nazis that were violated.

Jury selection for the trial began under tight security, with only a limited number of spectators and supporters of the suit able to enter the courtroom. Also present were attorneys for the City of Greensboro, government officials, and the members of the Klan and Nazi Party named in the suit.

Speaking on his own behalf was Roland Wayne Wood, a member of the American Nazi Party, dressed in an olive-drab T-

shirt, emblazoned with the words "Eat lead, you lousy red." He was accompanied by a young white man in camouflage dress, wearing combat boots and sporting a Confederate flag.

Judge Mehrige questioned the prospective jurors about their attitudes towards communists, Blacks, and political activism, giving the appearance that the court would not qualify any juror who displayed prejudice in these areas. Yet two of three jurors accepted in the first round of interviewing were openly anticommunist and racist. One declared his belief that all communists should "go back to Russia."

Another expressed his disapproval of interracial marriage and explained that "Blacks should stay with the Blacks and whites with whites."

One line of questioning indicated the significance of this case for the labor movement and the fight to organize workers in the "right-to-work" South. The judge asked prospective jurors if they thought

Continued on Page 12



Militant/Lou Howort
Rev. Ben Chavis was one of signers of an April Actions letter appealing for Black participation in demonstrations.

How U.S. gov't uses food as weapon against Ethiopia

BY LEE MARTINDALE

Hundreds of thousands of Africans have starved and millions more are threatened by a famine triggered by drought.

Food and other agricultural products are still being exported from the countries affected by the drought: crops like cotton, peanuts, coffee, and meat and vegetables for the European market.

African peasants and workers don't make enough to buy food to eat. The profits go to big landowners and to the owners of multinational corporations that control the world trade in food.

African nations find their imports cost far more than they can get for their exports. Borrowing to import food, fuel, and machinery, they wind up in debt to the imperialist banks.

This poverty and dependence makes the economies of these countries vulnerable, so that a failure of the rains can lead to a tragedy of terrible proportions.

There is no way out of this vulnerable position without major social changes that challenge the right of rich owners of imperialist corporations to exploit the majority of working people of these countries.

The Ethiopian revolution

Ethiopia is one country where such major social changes have been made.

Until 1974 Ethiopia was ruled by the feudal monarchy of Emperor Haile Selassie. Eighty-five percent of the population were serfs of the ruling family, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, or other large landowners. The landlords demanded 50 to 80 percent of the peasants' crop as rent. The majority of the arable land in these large estates was unused, despite the severe famines that the country experienced.

Selassie also encouraged multinational agribusiness corporations to invest in Ethiopia. In 1973, in the same area of the country where thousands of people, having been pushed off the land, were starving to death, an Italian company named MAESCO was expanding. It augmented its alfalfa-growing operations, which sold livestock feed to Japan, to include the production of sheep and cattle for export.

For six months in 1973-74, while Ethiopians starved to death, Selassie denied there was a famine and refused to appeal for international aid.

Uprising and social change

In 1974 he was overthrown by a popular uprising. The peasants took back their land, the nobility was overthrown, and the monarchy abolished.

The new government of Mengistu Haile Mariam initiated a series of deep-going reforms, including one of the most radical land reforms ever undertaken on the African continent. These reforms were designed to provide for the needs of the population and to lay a basis for real agricultural development.

The land of the giant landlords and the church was divided among the peasants.

The new government nationalized the few imperialist economic holdings there were in Ethiopia, and closed down U.S. military facilities. It established ties with the Soviet Union, Cuba, and other workers states.

Illiteracy has been reduced from 97 to 37 percent. Mass organizations of workers, peasants, women, and young people were formed. Laws have been passed against some of the backward customs that oppress Ethiopian women, such as the practice of marrying off girls between the ages of seven and nine.

The government has begun the construction of badly needed roads. Much of Ethiopia is mountainous, and three-quarters of the country's farmers live more than a half-day's walk from an all-weather road.

The new government has intervened in the wholesale market for food to fight speculation and ensure adequate food for workers living in the towns.

Of course, these steps have not immediately solved Ethiopia's agricultural problems. Centuries of poverty and under-

development are not wiped out overnight.

Ethiopia is still a very poor country, with very little industry, roads, railways, and resources for economic development.

In a recent year, imported goods, including fertilizers and supplementary food, cost more than double the amount that Ethiopia's exports brought in.

In addition, the Ethiopian government is waging a war against national liberation fighters in Eritrea province and battling rebel guerrillas in Tigre who are bucking central government authority over that province. This warfare is a further drain on Ethiopia's already underdeveloped economy.

So, when the rains were insufficient for several years in a row, Ethiopia faced famine in spite of the progress it had begun to make.

Washington withholds food

The radical reforms of the Ethiopian revolution, along with the regime's anti-imperialist stance, have made it a target of attack from the imperialists. Several years after the revolution the U.S. government cut off all aid, using as a pretext the confiscation of a spice factory without what the U.S. owners considered "adequate" compensation.

In 1977-78 the U.S. government backed an invasion of Ethiopia by the neighboring country of Somalia.

And in the current famine, Washington's desire to discredit and destabilize Ethiopia has clearly taken precedence over any "humanitarian" concern.

Ethiopia has a standing famine-relief commission, set up in 1974, which monitors food supplies, distributes food aid, and tries to prevent famine.

In 1982 after several years of scanty rain in key food-producing areas, the government put out a warning on famine and appealed to international relief organizations and foreign governments to help avert it.

The U.S. government ignored these requests until mid-1983, and then they were denied. Ethiopia was the only African nation whose entire U.S. food-aid allotment was eliminated by the Reagan administration in its fiscal 1984 budget proposals.

At a World Bank meeting in September 1983, France proposed a program of famine relief that was blocked by the United States.

As one U.S. senator explained the policy: "The hungry kids are seen by some downtown as 'little commies,' so the grain just sits there."

The U.S. government has tried to defend its refusal to give aid and to discredit the Ethiopians by charging that food gets diverted to the armed forces. But investigations by representatives of the European Economic Community, and by members of the U.S. Congress, have uncovered no evidence supporting this charge.

Finally forced by public pressure to begin sending aid, the Reagan administration and Congress are posing as the saviors of Africa.

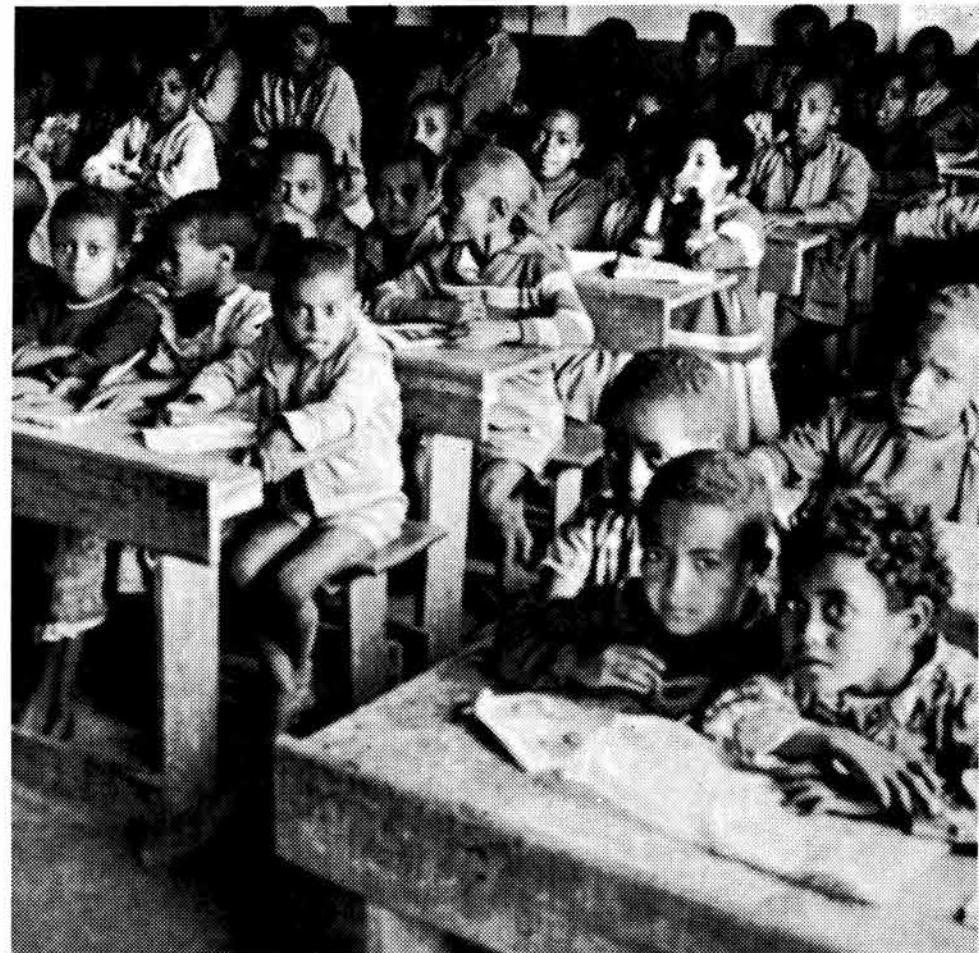
But the aid that Washington has pledged is only a quarter of the 3.3 million tons of food needed. And last year the U.S. government had 100 times that amount of grain in storage.

These surplus stocks of food are used, not as a resource for hungry people, but as a weapon to keep them dependent and exploited.

The food weapon

In January Reagan announced a new food-aid policy called "Food for Progress," which he said will "emphasize use of America's agricultural abundance to support countries which have made commitments to agricultural policy reform during a period of economic hardship." These reforms are to be based on "market principles" and "private sector involvement."

This approach is already being implemented in some African countries. A November feature in the *Christian Science Monitor* by David Willis describes how it works:



In 1974 a popular uprising overthrew Ethiopia's feudal emperor, Haile Selassie. New government abolished monarchy, instituted a radical land reform, and carried out an educational campaign that taught majority of Ethiopians, like schoolchildren above, how to read for the first time. Washington's food policies are designed to discredit and destabilize present Ethiopian government.

"The weapon, as described by officials in Rome, Washington, London, and a number of African capitals: calibrating and measuring out Western food and financial aid on condition that governments make changes that donors want to see."

The "reforms" that must be implemented are: lifting price controls on food, ending food subsidies in urban areas, and turning the distribution of food back over to private hands.

In the midst of a famine, where people are desperate for food to survive, these "reforms" amount to legalizing speculation and profiteering on food. This is a recipe for a few people to get very rich very quickly off of the hunger of the majority.

In the long run, these "reforms" are designed to keep an open field for the imperialist corporations, and prevent the governments of African countries from going into the profitable export and import business themselves.

The U.S. government, the World Bank, and other "food-aid donors" have the governments of these African countries over a barrel. Willis explained that "In French-speaking Mali — [which is] fighting erosion, the encroaching Sahara, and drought — donors have in effect ganged up on the government since 1980 to demand price and market changes."

In plainer terms, this is blackmail, using food as the weapon, with the goal of allowing the imperialists to run the economies of these nations.

U.S. farmers

U.S. farmers face the government's domestic version of "food for progress" right here. The same commitment to "market principles" is invoked as the basis for the Reagan administration's proposed new farm bill.

What this farm bill would do is effectively eliminate price-support loans for many crops. The price-support system would only be triggered if farmers had to sell their crops below the market price. If the market price falls below what it cost the farmers to produce the crop, that's tough.

This farm bill will make it even harder for those thousands of family farmers who face the loss of their land because their income won't cover the costs of production and interest payments demanded by the banks.

One of the advantages of this program, according to Reagan's secretary of agriculture, John Block, is that it will eliminate the "costly surpluses" of food that the U.S. government currently stores.

Simple justice and common sense would dictate taking the surplus grain grown by U.S. farmers and using it to help feed the hungry.

But the profit motive is neither just nor does it have the common good in mind.



There's no profit to be made in growing food for people too poor to buy it.

But there is profit in using the land and labor force of Africa to produce crops for export that multinational corporations can buy cheap and sell dear to consumers in other countries.

And as long as "market principles" reign, that's what African nations are forced to do in order to import fuel and manufactured goods, get loans from international banks, and "qualify" for aid to help the starving.

So the next time the television flashes pictures of children with shriveled limbs and blank stares, remember that this is a famine caused by imperialism, not drought. It's a famine for profit.

Militant Forum in Cincinnati discusses legacy of Malcolm X

BY PATRICIA HAMER

CINCINNATI — A standing-room only crowd of 72 attended the Militant Labor Forum on Sunday, February 24, to hear James Meredith reflect on what Malcolm X meant to him.

Meredith, a visiting professor at the University of Cincinnati, recently sparked much controversy when he criticized the university's attitude toward Black athletes and condemned the quality of education Blacks are receiving in the public schools.

Some twenty years ago Meredith made history by enrolling at the University of Mississippi ("Ole Miss"), which was then all-white. Public officials defied a court order admitting Meredith, and anti-Black riots resulted in two deaths before he was allowed on campus. Even then, National Guard troops had to escort him to his classes.

In his remarks Meredith said, "If Malcolm were alive today in Cincinnati, he would be still be fighting for the same justice he fought for twenty years ago. Nothing has changed."

Sharing the platform with Meredith were Marvin Berlowitz, Kibwe Diarra, and Charles Graves. Berlowitz, a professor of education at the University of Cincinnati, defended Meredith from his academic detractors. Diarra, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, explained that, "The April 20th Call for Action rally in Washington, D.C., would definitely be attended by Malcolm if he were alive today."

Graves, a member of the National Black Independent Political Party, was moderator for the panel. He stated that "by binding together in an organization such as NBIPP, we can carry on the teachings of Malcolm X and continue in the struggle for justice."

Hamer is a member of NBIPP in Cincinnati.

Nicaraguan ranchers meet U.S. farmers

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

ST. PAUL, Minn. — "The workers, farmers, farm workers, and ranchers of Nicaragua feel tremendous solidarity with the people of your country," Nicaraguan rancher Juan Tijerino told audiences of farmers and other rural Minnesotans. "We count on your solidarity as we continue to reconstruct our country."

Tijerino and his wife, Piedad Tijerino, spent March 7–10 in Minnesota on one leg of a tour that began in California and will take them to Wisconsin, Iowa, and Texas. Speaking on behalf of Nicaragua's National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG), the Tijerinos came to the United States to appeal to embattled farmers here to oppose the U.S. government's war against Nicaragua. The Midwest portion of their tour was hosted by the North American Farm Alliance.

The two Nicaraguans spoke to 35 people in Worthington; 40 in Granite Falls; and 60 at a meeting hosted by United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 879 president, Tom Laney, at the UAW hall in St. Paul.

In western Minnesota the Tijerinos were warmly welcomed by farmers who are active in the fight against farm foreclosures and the ruinous policies the U.S. government is carrying out against family farmers. These included leaders of the Minnesota chapter of the American Agriculture Movement and Groundswell (the leading force in the February demonstration of more than 10,000 farmers and their supporters at the state capitol here). These farm leaders and other farmers opened their farms to the Tijerinos, offering them meals and housing while in the Granite Falls and Worthington areas. The Tijerinos were given tours of several farms including a beef feeding operation, a hog finishing farm, an Arabian horse breeding farm, a dairy operation, and a grain farm that also converts corn into ethanol for sale. Larry Olson, operator of the horse breeding farm, traveled to Nicaragua in February and showed slides from his trip at the Granite Falls meeting.

In the course of public meetings and the many informal discussions with U.S. farm activists, the Tijerinos painted a vivid picture of the brutality of the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua and the urgency of mounting opposition to it.

Ranch destroyed by contras

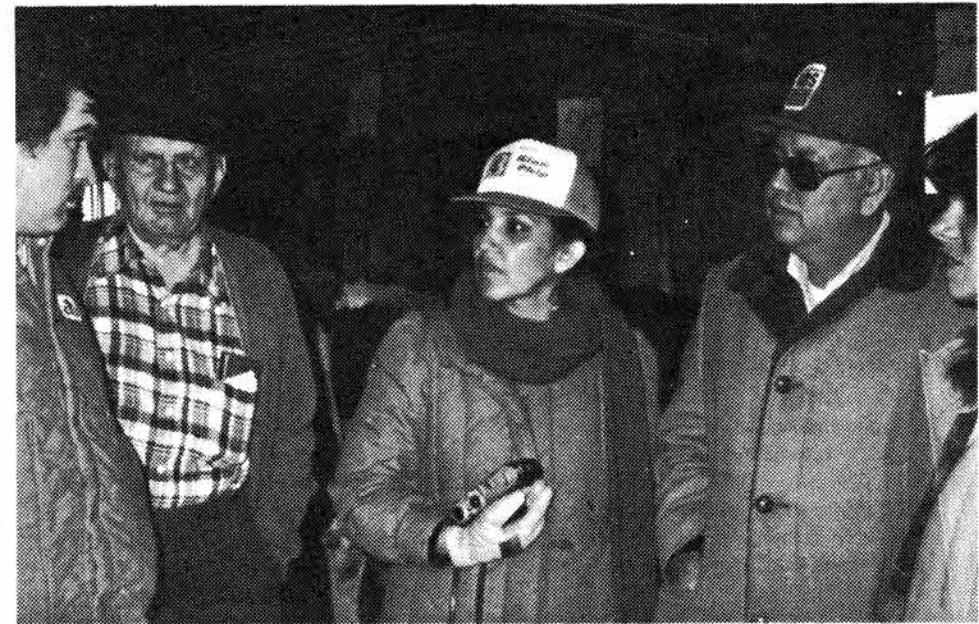
The Tijerinos are cattle and grain producers. Married for 20 years with seven children, as Piedad Tijerino told the Granite Falls meeting, they started their first farm two weeks after they were married. "Our ranch cost us a lot of sweat," she explained. "Two months ago it was destroyed by *contras* (the Spanish name

meaning counterrevolutionaries) financed by your government."

The Matagalpa ranch was invaded by *contras* and burned, Tijerino explained. One of the farm workers was shot in the neck and left to hang from a tree.

The Tijerinos explained that cattle ranchers and dairy farmers have mobilized to help the coffee growers pick the crop. This is necessary because, "the arms that picked the coffee are today defending the country" against the U.S. war. Despite these extraordinary steps Nicaragua will only bring in 60 percent of this year's coffee harvest, the Tijerinos reported. "Sadly, we who love peace," said the Tijerinos, "have to

Continued on Page 10



Militant/John Gaige

Nicaraguan ranchers Piedad and Juan Tijerino (right) talking with Minnesota farmers during recent Midwest speaking tour.

U.S. war games threaten Nicaragua

Continued from front page

people — as they will in Nicaragua — even tiny Grenada could have provided stiff resistance and raised the political price U.S. imperialism paid for trampling on the lives and rights of the small, once-independent nation.

New book reveals problems

In the March 10 *New York Times*, a book on the U.S. military is reviewed by William Hauser. He's described as a former military career officer and writer on "national security affairs."

Hauser writes that if the Grenadians and Cuban construction workers who resisted the invaders had been "slightly better armed and trained, the United States victory would have been protracted to the point of national humiliation." (Emphasis added.)

Hauser adds that the book under review — *The Pentagon and the Art of War*, by Edward Luttwak — recounts "landings in Grenada uncoordinated between the Army and Marine Corps, pitiable failures of intelligence, and confused transmission of orders."

Participating command officers acknowledge that advance intelligence reports underestimated the number of Cuban construction workers involved in building Grenada's new airport. The U.S. command planned to use the uncompleted runway there as a key landing point for its ground forces.

But as a result of the faulty intelligence, a special 35-member force that dropped in to grab control of the airfield was pinned down and isolated, with 22 of them reportedly killed or wounded.

The result was that Army Rangers, who

would have landed on the strip, had to be parachuted in.

This was disclosed in a *Boston Globe* article last October by two former army intelligence officers.

'Inaccurate' intelligence

Their account of big foul-ups in the invasion is confirmed by "Lessons Learned" reports filed by two navy officers who commanded air squadrons. They complained that the operation was impeded by disjointed planning and poor coordination between the various branches of the military.

They agreed that advance intelligence had been "inaccurate and inadequate."

They added that Ranger officers had not met in advance with navy pilots and, "as a result, we went into combat the first day with absolutely no prior knowledge of, or coordination with, the Ranger operation."

A third "Lessons Learned" report, by the admiral who headed up the navy end of the operation, also said the invasion had been planned so hastily that there were serious coordination and communications problems.

And, he added, they were confronted with such unexpected difficulties as medical evacuations being conducted by army helicopter pilots who had not been trained to land on offshore ships.

Another headache, the admiral added, is that the invaders were working with three different maps, with different gridline markings on them.

This, he observed, caused "considerable" confusion.

To improve readiness of U.S. troops

Big Pine aims at assuring that such mistakes won't be repeated in Nicaragua.

But Big Pine is not some generalized learning experience. The nature and scope of the operation confirms that both the U.S. and Honduran troops involved are on a wartime footing.

A recently disclosed U.S. General Accounting Office report notes that the Pentagon "emphasizes that the training of Honduran troops contributes to the readiness of U.S. forces . . . by permitting U.S. troops to improve their professional skills in [a] bilingual environment, and by exposing U.S. forces to indigenous cultures."

Brig. Gen. Walter López Reyes adds that the maneuvers will provide "excellent training for Honduran troops and give both armies the opportunity to work together."

The Pentagon says the current maneuvers will last some three months.

Before Big Pine, such maneuvers rarely lasted more than three weeks.

At peak points of the training, some 4,500 U.S. troops will be involved. These include 1,500 now permanently stationed in Honduras.

(With but a few scattered murmurs of protest, Congress has looked the other way while the Pentagon has used the series of Big Pine maneuvers as the cover for creating a new military base in Honduras. Legally, such bases require congressional sanction.)

Honduran forces include infantry brigades, armored cavalry, and naval and air force units.

Up to 20 U.S. tanks will be airlifted in for the exercise. And armored personnel carriers will be delivered to the Honduran military.

Also projected are joint naval exercises by U.S., Honduran, and Salvadoran naval forces. These include landings on small islands in the Gulf of Fonseca. The gulf is shared by Honduras, El Salvador, and Nicaragua.

There is also substantial, continuing military construction.

Earlier Big Pine operations built "temporary" air strips, a half-dozen airfields, and 10 bunkers for storing bombs, rockets, and other warplane ammunition.

Several radar facilities have been installed in Honduras, as well as two on islands in the Gulf of Fonseca. Operated and secured by U.S. personnel, these keep the entire region under surveillance.

You don't have to be a specialist in military affairs to know that all this adds up to a lot more than "a show of force."

The series of Big Pine operations was discussed in the February 28 issue of *Baricada International*, an English-language weekly published in Nicaragua.

The paper reported:

"As a result of the virtual nonstop maneuvers, stated Defense Minister [Humberto] Ortega, the U.S. Marines now have a greater familiarity with the zone's terrain, topographical conditions, climate and, in general, with the theater of operations from which a war against Nicaragua would be launched."

"With the joint participation of Honduran troops, he added, they have the capacity to mount a rapid intervention operation."

Clearly, when the Nicaraguans warn of the threat of a U.S. invasion, they're not crying wolf.

Rojas letter on Grenada featured in 'IP'

The sixth anniversary of the Grenada revolution of March 13, 1979, is a good occasion to review the lessons of that revolution and the counterrevolution led by Bernard Coard that overthrew it in October 1983.

Don Rojas, former press secretary to the slain Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop, does this in an open letter to progressive publications around the world. It is printed in the current, April 1, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Rojas answers the argument made by some political currents that the supporters of Bishop and those of Coard were equally to blame for the revolution's defeat. He describes the Coard group as "ultraleftists" who "hijacked" the New Jewel Movement (NJM) and "offered up the revolution to Washington on a platter."

Those who blame both sides, says Rojas, "deliberately distort the facts, with the real motive of rehabilitating the discredited Coardites, who are the true architects of

the revolution's collapse."

Rojas also describes the dispute over "joint leadership" in the NJM, explaining how the proposals of the Coard faction would have undermined the real collective leadership practiced by Bishop.

This issue of *IP* also includes two articles from Australia on the history of the imperialist ANZUS alliance and the movement against it. *Intercontinental Press* is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

Enclosed is \$7.50 for 3 months. \$15 for 6 months. \$30 for 1 year.

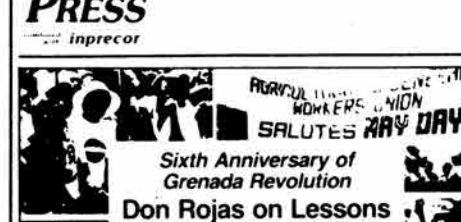
Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS



Fidel Castro in Nicaragua
'To Be a Revolutionary Is a Great Privilege'

Kidnapped Nicaraguan peasants tell of horrifying life with U.S.-backed 'contras'

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — "They can kill us, but they won't take us away anymore. We are now armed men, and we will not permit this," said José Pobeda Vásquez.

Pobeda is now a member of an armed agricultural cooperative in Nicaragua. He was speaking after a ceremony here February 15 where he and 142 other peasants were formally released by the Nicaraguan government under an amnesty for Nicaraguans involved in counterrevolutionary activity. The 143 peasants, from the war-torn northern region of Las Segovias, had been kidnapped by CIA-sponsored counterrevolutionary bands (*contras*), which tried to force them to fight against the Nicaraguan revolution.

Some of those kidnapped were able to escape within a few hours or a couple of days of being kidnapped. Others — including Pobeda — spent weeks or months with the contras before deserting.

"This revolution will welcome everyone who has been kidnapped or who voluntarily wants to turn themselves in under the amnesty decree," said Commander Christian Pichardo, head of the Ministry of the Interior in the region. He presided over the ceremony.

Other dignitaries present included Commander Manuel Salvatierra, head of the army in the region; Agustín Lara, political secretary of the regional Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); and Lt. Commander Roger Mayorga, head of State Security in Las Segovias.

How peasants are kidnapped

A dozen peasants were interviewed at random by the *Militant* after the ceremony.

"They are evil-doers, honestly," says Amado Duarte Mercado, referring to the chiefs of the U.S.-organized mercenary forces. "The day they took me from my house, threatening to kill me, a few took me away and the rest stayed behind and killed a nephew of mine who was staying with me."

"He had been a member of the militia before, and we were working in a cooperative. That doesn't sit well with them."

José Lino Guerrero, who spent four months with the counterrevolutionaries, described the composition of the CIA bands. "It's the old National Guard" of overthrown dictator Anastasio Somoza, he said, "and some peasants — some of them confused, but mostly kidnapped."

He said the commander of his contra unit consciously avoided combat with the Sandinista army, in part to prevent desertions. "It's the easiest moment to escape," he said, "because the rest of the time they always keep a very close watch. Anyone found trying to desert is killed on the spot."

His younger brother, Anelio Guerrero, was also kidnapped, shortly after José Lino had managed to escape. Anelio explained

that the mercenaries "surprised me on a road. They let the rest go, because they were older, but me they took. 'We're all Nicaraguans and we have to fight,' they said."

He said he was in a training camp in Honduras for almost a month. Considered unreliable by the contras, he wasn't given a rifle, only a heavy load of hundreds of mortar projectiles to carry.

On Dec. 24, 1984, his task force crossed into Nicaragua in an area near his home. "That night I snuck away." Several others deserted at the same time because the contra commanders were celebrating Christmas and not watching too closely.

"Now I feel tranquil. The Sandinista Front is helping us, we're going to work the land and we've decided not to let the contras keep on taking us."

1,500 deserters

In all, said Commander Pichardo, more than 1,500 people have deserted from the counterrevolutionary bands in Las Segovias alone since the Nicaraguan government's amnesty program went into effect more than a year ago. This is almost equivalent to the total number of counterrevolutionary troops in the region, currently estimated at about 1,800.

"This is a war zone where the working people are fighting against the enemy, some defending the revolution, others producing for the revolution," Pichardo said.

"The enemy does everything in his power to prevent this from developing normally. They come into isolated peasant hamlets, come into the homes, kidnapping, killing, and raping.

"And since the enemy has received harsh blows from the armed forces, he is forced to replace those forces by kidnapping peasants."

Although not required under terms of the law, Pichardo reported the revolutionary government is also granting amnesty, on a case-by-case basis, to some contras wounded or captured in battle.

René Chevarría Blandón, one such prisoner, explained he had been a member of the Five Pines task force of mercenaries. The task force is part of the José Dolores Estrada Regional Command.

He said he was kidnapped while tending coffee groves in June 1984 and taken to Honduras. He was sent back to Nicaragua two months later. His unit was told that its objectives were to attack the town of La Trinidad and the city of Estelí, deep in Nicaraguan territory.

But his column of about 100 men was ambushed by the Sandinista People's Army and virtually wiped out. "I think only I escaped, and I escaped wounded." He wandered for 10 days, gravely ill, his wounds festering with maggots. When he was finally captured, "I was more dead than alive." Sandinista troops fed him, gave him medical attention, and sent him to a hospital.

"Now I feel calm. I am grateful to the Sandinista Front, which has given me back my life. I am truly grateful."

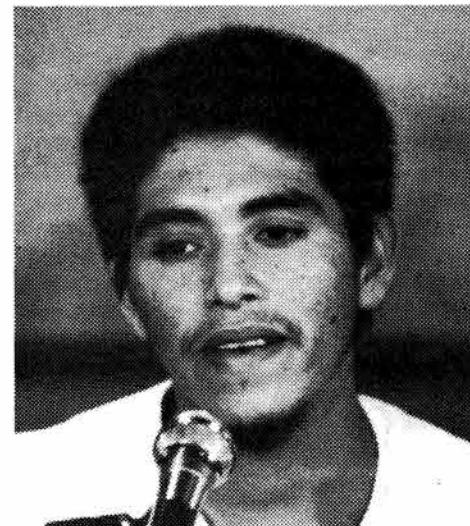
Abuse of peasant women

Commander Pichardo also presented three peasant women kidnapped by counterrevolutionaries. María Domínguez López Miranda and Esmeralda del Carmen Flores López were kidnapped January 15 at the hamlet of Santo Domingo, near the town of Telpaneca. Both were raped.

Flores López — who is 14 — explained, "They came to my house, pretending to be Sandino's cubs," as the draftees of Nicaragua's Patriotic Military Service are called. "They told my mother she could go get us the next day at Telpaneca, but they took us to the mountain and that night, they put an armed guard over each civilian. The one who abused my person was called El Piojo. He said if I didn't let him, he would cut my throat."

Late that night the two women were able to escape.

Reyna Isabel Ruiz B. Vanegas was kidnapped with her husband at the end of December 1984, taken to Honduras, then sent back with one of the regional contra commands. She escaped after one month. "I don't know where my husband is," she



Militant photos by José G. Pérez

Contreras maintain their ranks and terrorize the population of northern Nicaragua by kidnappings. At left, René Chevarría Blandón was seized on coffee farm and dragooned into contras and later escaped after being wounded. Flores López, 14, was taken from her village and raped.

said, "They separated us in Honduras."

Agustín Lara, political secretary of the FSLN in the region, said that the U.S. government, which directs the contra forces, uses "methods which are exactly the same as those used by the Somoza guard before the July 19, 1979, victory."

"What the *compañeras* said about the rapes, that was something common, routine, before. The kidnapping and disappearances of peasants were also common and routine."

Lara said more than 2,000 "men, women and even children" have been kidnapped in this region. The contras "have broken up entire communities, creating terror."

"And now that the U.S. Senate is going to discuss the approval of \$14 million" for its war against Nicaragua, Lara continued, "it is good that it be known where and how those millions of dollars are used. Here is the proof of precisely who are the victims of that war of aggression."

Made in USA

To one side of the table where Lara was sitting there was a large display of rifles, ammunition, uniforms, bombs, and handbooks. The bullets had NATO markings. The uniforms said "Made in USA." The claymore mines had instructions embossed in English: "this side toward enemy." Even the "Freedom Fighter's Manual" bore the indelible stamp of its U.S. authors: in illustrating how to make a time-bomb fuse with a cigarette and matches, the cartoon showed a U.S.-style book of matches. These are totally unknown in Nicaragua, where matches come in a little box.

The amnesty law, Lara explained, is going to take away one of the mercenaries' instruments of blackmail against the peasants. "They kidnap them, put them in a counterrevolutionary column, and then the contras try to convince them they have to fight because if they were to return to Nicaragua they would be killed by the army."

"This weapon has been losing credibility. The peasants are increasingly clear that the forces of the revolution at no time confuse the counterrevolutionary mercenary with the peasants who have been kidnapped, pressured, and blackmailed into fighting in the ranks of the counterrevolution."

Lara reported that the number of people who turn themselves in "grows day by day, as a result of the growing credibility of our positions."

In response to a question, Commander Pichardo said the 143 peasants being formally released had, in fact, already been returned to their communities, and were only part of the larger group of people who had turned themselves in in recent weeks. "Anyone who lays down their weapon is immediately handed over to their community."

He also reported that these people were taking a substantial risk by coming here to the ceremony. He said in 1984 there were several cases of peasants murdered by contra bands after having returned to their communities. "That is why, if someone who has turned themselves in wants a rifle to defend themselves, we will give it to them."

Who are the contras?

BY STEVE MARSHALL

The U.S.-organized forces attacking Nicaragua today are commonly called *contras*, or counterrevolutionaries. They're known by other names as well.

The CIA, in its instruction booklet for the contras, calls them "persuasive and highly motivated guerrillas."

One group of contras, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), styles itself "commandos in a holy war." Secretary of State George Shultz calls them "brave men and women," and President Reagan says they're "freedom fighters" who deserve millions of dollars of additional financing

from Washington.

In Nicaragua, among the workers and farmers who are their target, the contras are known simply as *las bestias* — the beasts.

Nicaraguans have a long experience with the contras, who ran the country for decades. U.S. military officers set up the National Guard in 1927 to protect the Somoza family dictatorship. The Guard was notorious for its rape, torture, and slaughter of civilians.

It murdered 50,000 Nicaraguans before July 19, 1979, when the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) led the

Continued on Page 10



Militant photo by José G. Pérez
Mercenary poster reads "The Pope is with us." Another of their slogans is "With God and patriotism, we will destroy communism!"

NICARAGUA The Sandinista People's Revolution Speeches by Sandinista leaders

This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution given between March 1982 and December 1984. Included are speeches and interviews by leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Nicaraguan government, such as Pres. Daniel Ortega, Vice-pres. Sergio Ramírez, Tomás Borge, Jaime Wheelock, and Victor Tirado; and important documents, such as the FSLN's 1984 "Plan of Struggle." 400 pages, \$7.95. Available May 1985 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

Farm protests held across country

Police attack farm protest

Continued from front page

The crowd also included a group of high-school students wearing the purple jackets of the Future Farmers of America.

Marvin Porter, an AAM activist and the coordinator of the action, reported that support and participation from local farmers and the community was more than he had seen at other farm-sale actions.

The rally was opened by Perry Wilson, who thanked everyone for coming out to support his fight against the foreclosure sale.

Before the rally, Wilson had told the *Militant*, "A farmer is a fighter. I've been fighting nature and for prices to make a living for 52 years, now we're fighting the government."

Jerry Tucker, assistant director of Region 5 of the UAW, expressed the union's commitment to farmers in their struggle. He told the crowd that the same corporations attacking farmers are attacking workers. "We in the UAW have a common fight and a common cause with family farmers."

Reverend Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Kansas City, expressed the chapter's "full support" for the Wilson family's struggle.

After the rally, when the sale was scheduled to begin, 25 highway patrol cops, shoving and prodding with billy clubs, tried to force the crowd back. Failing, they grabbed 8 farmers and unionists from the crowd and dragged them inside the courthouse, where they were roughed up and arrested.

One of those arrested, Brad Gilbert, the 19-year-old son of a King City farmer, was

beaten unconscious by the police. Cecil Vaughan, chairman of the Libby unit of UAW Local 710, was also badly beaten by the cops.

After the attack, Roger Allison, an AAM activist, reconvened the rally to protest the arrest.

Matt Snell, noting that the rally had opened with the saluting of the flag, told the crowd, "We will have to fight to make sure that the 'liberty and justice for all' part of that pledge comes true, because there is no justice here today."

The eight arrested were: Fred Arensberg, farmer; Bradley Gilbert, farmer; Carlos Welty, farmer; Harley Sentell, farmer; William Henry, auto worker; Cecil Vaughan, auto worker; Hilde Edler, coal miner; and Marvin Porter, farmer. They were released and no charges have been filed at this time.

Although the sales trustee could not even announce the sale, Clinton County Sheriff Bo Defreece claimed that there was a legal sale of the Wilsons' land to the Federal Land Bank.

Perry Wilson, Jr., told the *Militant* afterwards, "If they try and call this a legal sale we will take them back to court, but in the meantime we are going to organize more rallies like this one."

Cecil Vaughan, one of the UAW members arrested, agreed. "The law definitely used excessive force on a peaceful assembly. I'll back the Wilsons up, there was no sale."

Summing up the general mood after the action, Perry Wilson, Sr., said, "This fight is just getting started. I'm not quitting."

Michigan: 300 rally at capitol

BY JUANA OCHOA

LANSING, Mich. — On February 28, 300 farmers and their supporters gathered at the state capitol here for a rally to protest the plight of the family farmer.

The rally was called by the Michigan Farm Unity Coalition. The coalition involves the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) and the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), as well as civic and religious groups. Farm leaders present included Roger Miller of the Ohio Farm Coalition and Bruce Miller, vice president of the Michigan AAM.

Many of the farmers at the rally are facing imminent foreclosures of their farms and came to the rally to protest and seek answers on how to fight back.

A wide variety of views on how to solve the problems of low farm prices, foreclosures, and credit was discussed by the rally speakers.

Ron Ferrell, spokesperson for the Michi-

gan Farm Unity Coalition, explained that "there is a grave crisis facing American agriculture and we formed [our coalition] to deal with it."

After explaining the economic problems facing farmers, Ferrell blasted federal Budget Director Stockman, Agricultural Secretary Block, and President Reagan. Ferrell said that farmers have had problems under both Democratic and Republican administrations.

A representative of the Farmworkers Ministry expressed solidarity with the rally and explained that there could be unity between farm workers and family farmers.

Farm activists distributed copies of the *North American Farmer*, the publication of NAFA, and a news release that explained the goals of the Michigan Farm Unity Coalition.

Socialist auto workers from Detroit also participated in the rally and sold several copies of the *Militant*.

D.C. march: 'Farms not arms!'

BY KAY BARTLETT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 1,000 farmers and their supporters marched and rallied here on March 4. The actions were part of a series of protests over the past few weeks organized to dramatize the crisis facing family farmers.

The March 4 "Farmers Parity March" was organized by the American Agriculture Movement, Inc., to demand immediate government assistance to family farmers in the form of emergency loans and an end to forced foreclosures.

Signs, banners, and flags highlighted farmers' demands: "No profit, don't plant"; "We want farms, not arms"; "Family farms, not nuclear arms"; "Ronnie and Johnny: family farmers didn't like PIK"; and "Does your job depend on farmers? — mine does."

Those who didn't have picket signs carried white crosses with the name of a state and a farmer printed on it. The crosses symbolized farmers who had lost their farms.

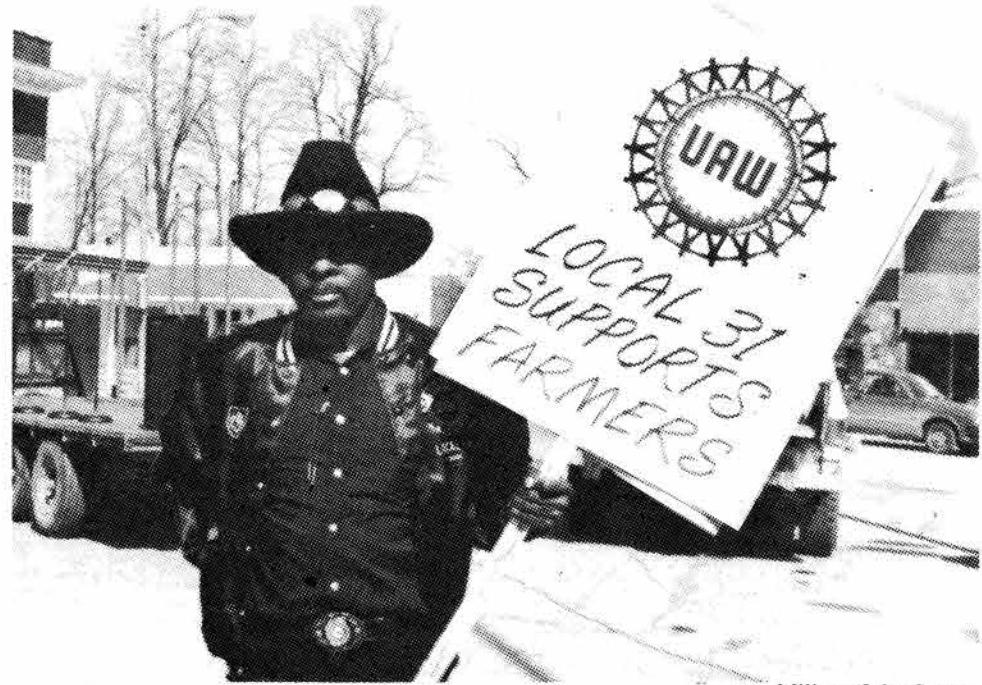
The protesters from Missouri included

farmers and their supporters. Robert Elam, a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 814, wore his union jacket as he marched. His coworkers at the telephone company in Sedalia, Missouri, had taken up a collection to sponsor his trip.

"Our union is just getting started trying to help the farmers," he told the *Militant*. "We depend on the farmers — if they can't get a good price and survive, it will cut down on our work. Other unions in Missouri are getting involved, including the coal workers."

A friend of Elam — a Missouri farmer — explained how the telephone workers became involved in the farmers' struggle. "A couple of years ago," he said, "the phone company tried to break the workers' union. Farmers helped workers there fight to keep their union. They're fighting to save our farms now."

Many protesters voiced support for the April 20 march on Washington, D.C. "Look at what the government is doing," another Missouri farmer said. "A govern-



Militant/John Staggs

One of the 200 UAW members from several Kansas City locals who participated in the foreclosure protest in Plattsburgh.

ment that will kill farmers in El Salvador would certainly kill farmers here."

Speakers at the rally at the Jefferson Memorial included Wayne Cryts; Corky Jones, national president of the American

Agriculture Movement, Inc., and congressmen from farm states.

Following the rally, the protesters marched to the Department of Agriculture and then to the White House.

Ohio: 200 join tractorcade

BY ANGY FOLKES
AND MARK FRIEDMAN

CIRCLEVILLE, Ohio — Two hundred farmers and their supporters held a tractorcade here on February 21 to protest farm foreclosures and the uncertainty of farm loans for spring planting. During the action, organized by the Ohio Family Farm Movement (FFM), farmers protested at local banks, the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) and the Production Credit Association offices.

Ohio farmers, like farmers around the country, are under the gun. Larry Coe of Mount Vernon points out that the combination of high interest rates, low crop prices, and mounting debt is squeezing farmers like himself out of agriculture. Coe who once farmed 1,000 acres is now down to 200. "I'm trying to hold on to one parcel that has been in the family for 100 years."

The Ohio director of agriculture admits that 25 to 30 percent of the state's farmers will go under this year. Pat Hammel, an FFM organizer, explained that the federal government has turned a deaf ear to the plight of farmers while they spend billions of dollars on missiles and nuclear weapons.

This sentiment was echoed by FFM leader Dick Bailey. "Why not supply food to the rest of the world and not bullets and bombs."

He explained that FFM's goal is to organize family farmers into directly supporting each other to stay on the land and to halt the chain reaction of foreclosures. "Wayne Cryts helped show us the way," Bailey said. Cryts, a Missouri farmer, led a protest of thousands of farmers in 1981. This action held off the police and the FBI as the farmers peacefully took back Cryts' soybeans which creditors of a bankrupt grain elevator company were trying to lay their hands on. "Farmers must stand up," Bailey said. "We have made a difference with all the demonstrations."

Among the protesters were workers from the area. They came out to lend their support to the farmers. One such worker, Louis McFarland, told the *Militant* that everyone is affected by the farm crisis. "Farm building and land improvement has been reduced here. Farmers put money back into the land, big business takes it away from the area. Farmers need and deserve a fair price for their grain."

Missouri: 'Parity not charity'

BY JOHN GAIGE

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo. — "Parity not charity," chanted 300 farmers and their supporters gathered at the state capitol here as Carlos Welty, national spokesperson for American Agriculture Movement (AAM), closed his speech.

Welty said, "Only you can do it . . . you will have to do it . . . we want a moratorium, we want price." Welty was referring to the idea of a "people's moratorium" on farm foreclosures, and higher prices for farmers so they can make a living.

Earlier, Welty read from a resolution passed by the sponsoring farm groups for the protest demanding that John Ashcroft, governor of Missouri, declare "Farm Crisis Action Week . . . This week should be one to legislate an indefinite emergency moratorium on all farm foreclosures in the state of Missouri and a week of public and private refinancing for Missouri farmers so they can plant this spring."

Family farmers planted white crosses on the lawn, symbolizing the loss of family farms through forced foreclosures. It is estimated that as many as 258 farmers a day are driven out of farming because of the farm crisis.

Signs and placards at the rally exposed Washington's antifarmer policies: "Sold out by Block, Stock, and Bureau", and "John Block: the Benedict Arnold of ag-

riculture . . . selling the American farmer down the drain."

"Duke" McVay, president of the Missouri AFL-CIO, pledged support to Missouri's hard-pressed farmers. Attacking Reagan's deep gutting of farm programs, McVay said, "Survival of the fittest is not in the interests of workers and farmers." Matt Snell, Kansas City director of United Auto Workers Community Action Program, also spoke, solidarizing with the farmers.

Merle Hansen, president of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), said, "our country is so dominant in agriculture that . . . it sets the world price, and our price policies are destroying family-type agriculture not only in this country, but throughout the world . . . and adding to the world hunger problem."

Hansen said it is the giant grain trade and processing companies that benefit from agricultural policies that promote cheap raw material production and fewer farmers.

Mark Holden, president of the National Farmers Organization of Missouri, pledged to work for a moratorium until victory.

"It's the responsibility of everyone to help resist foreclosure and slow down the process for all," said Roger Allison, state spokesperson for Missouri AAM and board member of NAFA. He urged farmers to keep fighting. "Don't give up your farms . . . don't mourn, organize."

Grain merchants pit farmer against farmer worldwide

Continued from front page

semicolonial countries, many of which had been virtually self-sufficient in food. Under pressure from the giant grain traders they became dependent on U.S. exports. The export drive was given further impetus in 1972 when the Soviet Union purchased large quantities of U.S.-grown wheat.

However, since 1981 the volume of U.S. agricultural exports has been falling. Several factors are responsible for this.

One is that the worldwide recession that began in 1981 reduced overall global trade. Many countries have not yet recovered from that downturn, and the pile-up of debts, particularly in semicolonial countries, has undermined the ability to pay for exports.

Another reason is that grain grown in countries such as France, Argentina, and Australia has become more competitive on the world market. The European Economic Community (Common Market), led by France, has, since 1978, become a net exporter of grain.

As in the United States, more grain is grown in Western Europe and Argentina than can be profitably sold there. Rather than continuing to build up large surpluses, merchants trading in European grain have attempted to cash in on the markets in the semicolonial countries and the Soviet Union.

They got a windfall in this regard in early 1980 when President James Carter imposed an embargo on U.S. grain shipments to the USSR.

More significant, however, is that the strength of the U.S. dollar against other currencies has given grain grown in France, Argentina, and other countries a competitive advantage. Overseas buyers are forced to pay out more francs, pounds, pesos, or yen to buy U.S.-grown grain. Consequently, grain exports from other countries are less expensive than those from the United States.

Washington also charges that another reason why the EEC countries are able to sell their grain overseas cheaper is because they pay big export subsidies to European farmers. These subsidies make up the difference between the relatively high grain prices inside Europe and the lower world market prices, thus enabling the grain to be sold competitively internationally.

In 1982-83, the Reagan administration went on an especially concerted drive to pressure the EEC to reduce these subsidies, arguing that they are a form of protectionism. It claimed European farmers were living high on the hog at the expense of U.S. farmers. While Washington was unsuccessful in getting a reduction in these subsidies, the EEC informally agreed to limit its grain exports to about 14 percent of world trade.

Now, EEC officials are warning that they will no longer be bound by this prom-

ise. They point out that the amount of export subsidies being paid out has sharply dropped. Because world grain prices are set in dollars, their equivalent in European currencies is now only a shade below the EEC's own internal price levels.

In this context, pressure on the EEC countries to eliminate export subsidies is likely to have little effect. Instead the Reagan administration is aiming its main fire on price supports and subsidies to U.S. farmers. Reagan also proposes eliminating direct government loans to farmers that have generally been granted at lower interest than commercial bank loans.

Faced with these harsh measures, tens of thousands of angry working farmers are organizing protest actions throughout the country. They are demanding a moratorium on all farm foreclosures, low-interest loans, and a farm price support program that will guarantee their costs of production and a living income for their families.

Are trade restrictions the answer?

Some farm protest leaders mistakenly believe this can be achieved by pressing Washington to restrict farm imports from other countries or getting it to twist the arms of other governments to lower their trade barriers.

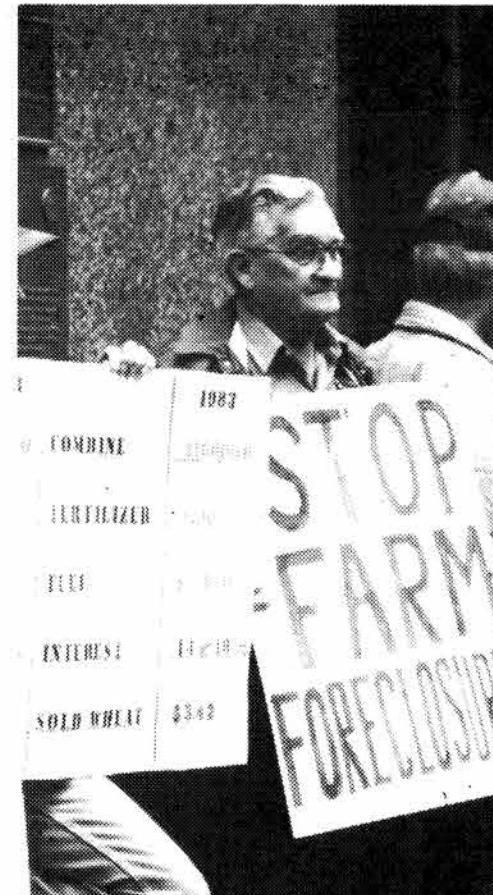
At a recent demonstration in Washington, for example, farmers carried placards urging, "Export Block! Deport Stockman! Import Nothing!" (John Block is the U.S. secretary of agriculture and David Stockman is director of the budget.) Many union bureaucrats are also attempting to link up with farm organizations on the basis of campaigning for protection from imports.

Underlying this notion is acceptance of the big-business and government notion that the problem is competition between U.S. farmers and farmers in other countries.

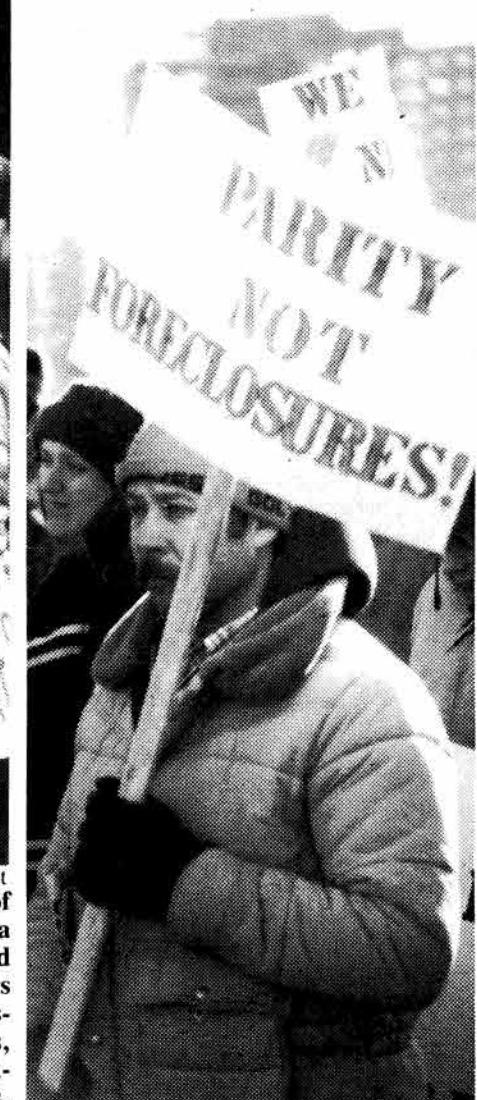
But this is false. Farmers, whether they work land in France or the United States, are *producers*, not international traders. They do not sell their commodities to consumers in other countries. They sell their wheat, soybeans, or whatever through a grain elevator in their local area. The crop, then, is no longer theirs. It either directly or soon, through further exchanges, becomes the property of one of the giant monopolies that dominate the grain trade.

Eighty-five percent of the international grain trade is conducted by six mammoth merchants — Cargill (U.S.-based), Continental (U.S.-based), Louis Dreyfus (French-based); Mitsui/Cook (Japanese-based); André/Garnac (Swiss-based); Bunge and Born (Argentine-based).

These international traders maintain virtual grain pipelines through their control or ownership of grain elevators, ships, barges, railroad cars, and port terminals.



Militant Farmers protest at the Chicago Board of Trade (above) and in St. Paul, Minnesota (right). Reagan administration's proposed measures will force thousands more farmers off land. Some farm-protest leaders mistakenly support protectionist measures, which offer no solution to problems of working farmers. As protest movement grows, clarity on imports question will be crucial.



Militant/Michael Maggi

They have their own communications networks and armies of espionage agents. Their monopoly over speedy information about the constantly fluctuating market and their secrecy are key to their vast power.

The influence of the major grain traders is amplified by their expansion into a wide range of economic activities. Cargill, for example, is the number two flour producer in the United States and the number two producer of animal feeds in the world. Cargill the processor is Cargill the trader's best customer.

Through their monopoly leverage in the grain market, the big grain merchants are able to keep market prices paid to farmers far below the value of the labor they have put into producing their products. They are *price makers* and keep working farmers in the role of *price takers*. This exploitation of working farmers by the handful of families that own these few commercial giants takes place worldwide, against French, U.S., Canadian, and Argentine farmers alike.

The grain merchants, not working farmers, compete with each other for a greater slice of the world market. Cargill, for example, is the largest exporter of grain grown by U.S. farmers. Consequently, it is especially eager to find markets for this grain. That's why Cargill chairman Whitney MacMillan is vigorously promoting the farm bill introduced by the Reagan administration. In fact, it would be more accurate to refer to the proposed legislation as the "Cargill Bill," as this billionaire grain trader will be the single biggest beneficiary if it is adopted.

But the big grain traders do not care where they buy their grain if they can turn a tidy profit by reselling it. They all buy and sell throughout the world. In some years, for example, Cargill has been the leading exporter of wheat from France as well as the United States.

Exploiters vs. exploited

The interests of exploited farmers and exploiting grain merchants are diametrically opposed.

While farmers want timely, accurate market information on which to base production decisions, the big capitalist traders thrive on secrecy.

Farmers need stable prices, but the big grain merchants profit from market instability. Grain companies make millions of dollars by betting on price differences between countries and price changes over time. Commodity price fluctuations are the very lifeblood of the grain trade.

Farmers want a high enough price from the grain merchants for their commodities in order to meet their production costs and have enough to live on, whereas the grain

traders care mainly about volume. Since they buy cheap and sell dear, they get their margin on every bushel regardless of price. They can make money from price declines as long as inside information enables them to accurately predict how the market will behave.

Workers also have nothing in common with the big food merchants and processors. As consumers they do not benefit from the low prices the farmers are paid for their produce. While farmers are being squeezed between high production costs and low prices from the food trusts, workers pay higher prices to the food trusts when they go to the supermarket. Both farmers and workers are victims of this monopoly-rigged steup.

Protectionist measures also merely strengthen the economic position of the capitalists who are driving exploited farmers off the land. They offer no solution to the cost-income squeeze facing the big majority of working farmers in every country. They only pit farmers of different countries against each other.

Moreover, they tend to make agricultural products grown in other countries more expensive in the importing countries. This pits farmers against workers who want cheap food prices.

The fact is that the main relationship between working farmers in different countries is not competition, but their common exploitation. They have a common enemy in the handful of families that profit off their labor.

In addition to the other demands farmers are raising to alleviate the unbearable conditions they face, a fight could be waged to nationalize these giant food monopolies. By doing this their operations could be opened up and run in the public interest.

An uncompromising struggle for this objective can help lead increasing numbers of working people to one and the same conclusion — that workers and farmers need to forge an alliance to overturn capitalist political rule, establish their own governments, and expropriate the ruling families and all their holdings.

Reagan's Africa aid scam

President Reagan's administration has been tooting its horn about the large amounts of food aid it claims to have shipped to African countries to help alleviate the famine there.

From the way government officials talk, one would get the impression that this is food taken from government warehouses and shipped at government expense to the countries in need, where it is offered free of charge.

This isn't how it works.

Since last June the government has issued three invitations for private grain merchants, such as Cargill and Louis Dreyfus, and Pillsbury (the country's largest flour producer), to purchase commodities stored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Commodity Credit Corporation.

The lowest bidders get millions of dollars worth of corn, wheat, and rice for a song. They are required to pay all process-

sing costs plus the cost of transportation to the importing company. They are supposed to export the commodities only to the specified famine-stricken country where they are to be resold. But given the tremendous curtain of secrecy under which the merchants of grain operate, this would be hard to police.

Cargill, et al., who are not in business for charity, make sure they meet their costs and get a comfortable profit to boot.

Moreover, the purchasing country must agree that purchases under this program will be in addition to other commercial trade agreements and existing food aid contracts, most of which are with the handful of big grain merchants.

A final patriotic touch is that half the quantity of commodities purchased by the grain merchants must be shipped on U.S. flag vessels "if available at fair and reasonable prices."

— D.J.

Marxism and the Working Farmer

An Education for Socialists bulletin.
62 pp., \$3.50

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.
Please include \$.75 postage and handling.

Nicaragua's contras: U.S.-backed mercenaries

Continued from Page 7

workers and peasants in a victorious revolution that drove Anastasio Somoza and the National Guard from power.

Six thousand of these killers escaped and fled the country. They have been rearmed and reorganized by the CIA, and now make up the core of the FDN — Reagan's "freedom fighters." Their aim is to overthrow the revolutionary government, install a proimperialist regime, and reopen the country to plunder by U.S. employers.

That goal is popular in Washington, but finds little support in Nicaragua. Only a tiny handful of rich bankers and businessmen stand to profit by selling their country to Wall Street. The vast majority of Nicaraguans support and defend their

revolution and the FSLN that leads it.

In their Spanish-language publication, *Comandos*, the contras of the FDN claim wide support in Nicaragua. Articles like "Women in the struggle," "Human rights violations in Marxist Sandinista Nicaragua," and "Life among the commandos" attempt to depict a grassroots contra movement capable of mobilizing significant forces to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

"The pope is with us," the contras exult. "With God and patriotism, we will destroy communism!"

The publication is intended for distribution in imperialist capitals.

In the three years of their war, however, and despite massive aid and support from

Washington, the contras have been unable to take and hold even a single village in Nicaragua. Without public support for their reactionary aims, they must rely more and more on desperate, destructive terrorism — including their old specialty of barbaric attacks on civilians.

A report in the British weekly, *New Statesman*, last August provided a picture of the tactics Shultz's "brave men" employ in their war. In it a nun described a contra attack on the town of Waslala in which 37 civilians were killed.

A young woman found the body of her 23-year-old husband. "He had been beaten all over," she said. "He had been stabbed and a cross was carved in his back. His eyes had been pulled out."

Lessons of Ariz. copper miners strike

National union officials refuse to organize active solidarity

BY TOM LEONARD

National and international workers' solidarity has been one of the most important weapons missing in recent strikes against corporate greed and union-busting. This is especially true of the year-and-a-half-long copper miners strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. in Texas and Arizona. National AFL-CIO officials refused to mobilize labor and its allies in an all-out fight against the well-organized, union-busting campaign by the giant copper company.

This lack of solidarity allowed the copper bosses to deal a severe defeat to the striking copper miners and smelter workers who waged a militant struggle to defend their unions.

Decertification

The latest blow came in January, when the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled that the 12 AFL-CIO-affiliated unions and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters had lost a decertification election at four company facilities in Arizona. This included the Morenci mine, where the unions were the strongest. The unions had earlier lost another election at a Phelps Dodge refinery in El Paso, Texas.

The 13 decertified unions include the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the largest union on strike, Machinists, Electrical Workers, Boilermakers, Operating Engineers, Chemical Workers, United Transportation Union, Plumbers and Pipefitters, Carpenters, Railway Carmen, Painters, Teamsters, and the Morenci-Clifton Metal Trades Council. The striking unions have a combined membership of 2,500.

This setback came in the 19th month of a bitter strike forced on the workers by the company on July 1, 1983. At that time other copper companies had already gotten contracts in which the unions agreed to concessions in the face of a serious recession in the copper industry. These included a 3-year wage freeze, work rule changes allowing the companies to combine jobs, and retirement benefit reductions.

These concessions were not enough for Phelps Dodge, which demanded much deeper cuts. These included an end to the cost-of-living allowance (COLA), a wage freeze, a 10 percent wage cut for new employees, reduced medical and vacation benefits, and cuts in retirement benefits.

It was the rejection by the unions of these arrogant demands by Phelps Dodge, after other copper companies had agreed to smaller takebacks, that precipitated the strike.

Union-busting always the aim

It was clear from the beginning that Phelps Dodge intended to use the strike not only to drive down wages and working conditions, but to try to break the unions as well. They were backed up in this effort by capitalist politicians like the Democratic governor of Arizona, Bruce Babbitt, the courts, and federal government agencies like the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB).

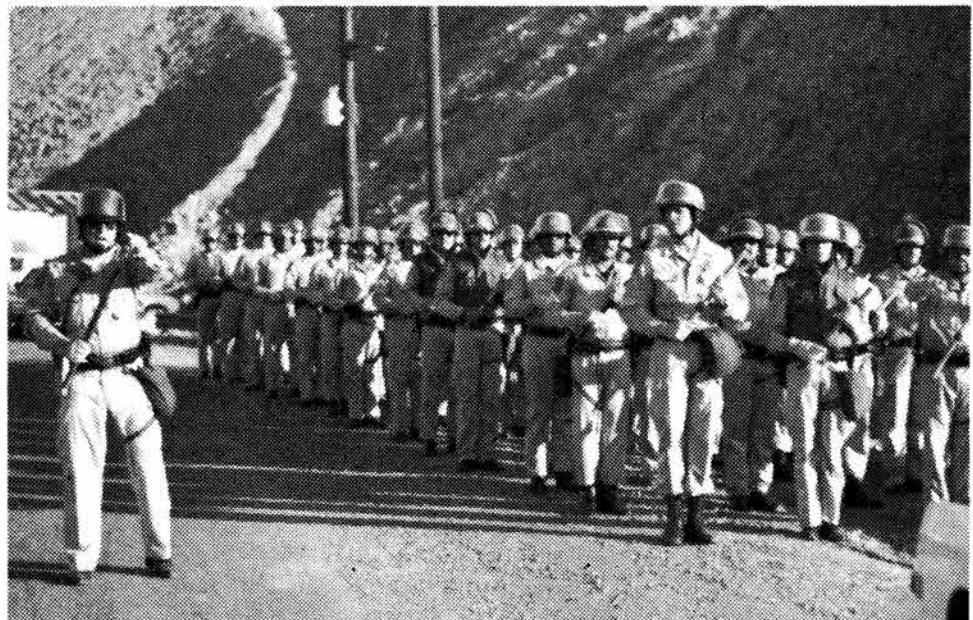
The courts cooperated by passing an injunction early in the strike limiting the size of picket lines. This allowed the company to operate its facilities with strikebreakers and supervisors.

The injunction was backed up by Governor Babbitt, who sent in armed state police of the Department of Public Safety (DPS) to enforce this strike-breaking move.

These attacks failed to break the solidarity of the strikers. Early in August 1983, 1,000 union members held a mass picket line at the Morenci mine that forced the company to shut down. Babbitt came to the aid of the company by arranging a 10-day "truce" between Phelps Dodge and the unions, during which time the company agreed it would keep the mine closed.

PD's dirty campaign

During those 10 days, however, Babbitt mobilized the National Guard. On the 10th day, seven units of armed guardsmen showed up at the Morenci mine to escort strikebreakers through union picket lines. From that day on, the mine, however ineffi-



Militant

State cops sent by Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt to break copper strike in August 1983 (right). Supporters of copper miners at Phoenix support rally (left). From beginning, copper miners waged determined battle to win strike. More than one year later, following decertification of unions in mines, AFL-CIO launched corporate strategy campaign in support of strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. But such corporate campaigns do not look toward actively mobilizing the membership of trade unions and their allies in today's labor battles.

ficiently, operated with scab labor.

Phelps Dodge also had other dirty tricks in its strikebreaking strategy. It went on a campaign to evict strikers from homes owned by the company. It got local school boards to threaten strikers' children with expulsion from school if they talked to schoolmates about the strike.

It cut off credit at company-owned stores and fired strikers it considered too militant. It got further help from state agencies that denied food stamps to strikers and refused them unemployment benefits.

Union members were arrested and framed up on fake strike-related violence charges, and they faced constant harassment and physical attacks by the DPS cops.

One result of these political, legal, and economic attacks was that many union members were forced to leave town to find jobs and survive.

These attacks also significantly weakened the unions' strength and laid the ground for Phelps Dodge's campaign to legally decertify the unions. This began in July 1984, when the strike was a year old.

When the voting for decertification was held in October, the NLRB supported Phelps Dodge's union-busting by ruling that only working strikebreakers could participate because strikers had not worked for the company for a year.

Strength of strikers

It would be hard to fault the solidarity and courage of the striking union members and their allies among the oppressed and exploited in their long fight against Phelps Dodge. They were armed with many decades of experience, first in organizing their unions, and then in a continuing struggle to defend them against hostile employers. It was this common experience in struggle that laid the foundation for the solidarity between the members of the 13 craft and industrial unions.

In addition to union solidarity, the strikers had other strengths as well. The majority were members of oppressed nationalities, including Chicanos and Indians, as well as Mexicans. Many had participated in earlier union-supported struggles against Phelps Dodge's racist hiring practices and on-the-job segregation. This included separate toilets and locker rooms marked "Mexicans."

Over the years the unions also supported affirmative-action fights for women workers. In 1968-69, for example, women and the unions fought and won a lawsuit that forced Phelps Dodge to hire women in the mines and smelters. Since that time the union has also defended women from sexual harassment by foremen and forced the company to provide separate and improved toilet and locker facilities for women.

These union-supported struggles against company racism and sexism were important reasons behind the community support the strikers received. It helps explain why a women's strike support committee was

formed shortly after the strike began.

Chicano organizations also came to the support of the strikers. An example is the Council for Hispanic Affairs of the Tucson Diocese. It participated in a campaign with 20 community groups to raise cash, food, and clothing for the strike.

The Arizona Farm Workers union, most of whose members are — like the copper workers — Latinos, supported the strike.

Area supporters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) recognized that women's rights and affirmative action were also threatened by Phelps Dodge's attack on the unions. Some of these women organized a strike support campaign at the August 1983 national NOW convention, where some 300 NOW members signed statements of solidarity and support for the copper workers.

Early in the strike, the copper workers began to get broader union support as well. On August 17, the state AFL-CIO convention in Utah, a large copper-producing state, passed a resolution calling on unions to support the strikers in any way they could.

Despite the growing potential for mass solidarity for the strikers from trade unions, women's rights organizations, and oppressed nationalities early in the strike, the national AFL-CIO officialdom never led a mobilization of labor and its allies in a mass national solidarity campaign to beat back Phelps Dodge's union-busting. No muscle was put behind the resolutions and verbal support, thus leaving the miners isolated.

AFL-CIO's class-collaborationist policy

For over a year the top officialdom basically stood on the sidelines of the strike taking credit for the militancy of the strikers, while responding in weak-kneed fashion to each new legal and political attack against the strike.

On Aug. 9, 1983, after Arizona governor Babbitt had been using cops against the strikers for a month, the AFL-CIO national executive council met in Boston. They passed a resolution supporting the strikers' right "to achieve a fair and decent contract" but they never backed up these words with deeds.

Six weeks after the National Guard was mobilized to force the reopening of Phelps Dodge facilities in Morenci, the 22nd constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO convened in Hollywood, Florida. Despite the escalation of political repression against the copper strikers, solidarity for their struggle was never formally raised on the convention floor.

Instead, AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland used the gathering of union officials to organize union support for Walter Mondale, 1984 presidential candidate of the Democratic Party — the same party whose Arizona leaders were helping to break the strike.

Kirkland explained the officialdom's class-collaborationist policy quite clearly.

Labor's future, he said, was tied to electing Mondale and more "friends of labor" capitalist politicians. He never raised the idea of educating and mobilizing the membership against the employers' union-busting to defend labor's own interests. Political action independent of the bosses and their two parties was openly rejected; solidarity was limited to verbal support.

The refusal to mobilize support for the copper strikers by the AFL-CIO tops was also true of the national leaders of the Steelworkers.

'New' corporate strategy

It wasn't until the September 1984 constitutional convention of the USWA that Lynn Williams, USWA president, announced he had a strategy to win the strike. He outlined it as a new corporate strategy to deal with companies like Phelps Dodge that use "strike replacements, hired gun-toting guards, police interference, and other strike-breaking measures."

The "new" strategy is called the Corporate Campaign Task Force Against Phelps Dodge and was actually put together by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department under Lane Kirkland's direction in August 1984.

In announcing the strategy, Williams explained how Phelps Dodge's union-busting campaign had cut into company profits, making Phelps Dodge dependent on multi-million dollar loans if was to survive.

He told union members "we have learned that the Wall Street creditors are the company's only hope for survival. Consequently we have decided to take our case to Wall Street." This meant going to bankers and stockholders who have investments in, or loans to, Phelps Dodge and urging them to put pressure on the company to treat the unions' demands more seriously and settle the strike.

According to the "corporate strategy," if the bankers don't cooperate, the unions will respond by withdrawing union-pension and other funds and depositing these in more cooperative banks.

One example is the refusal of the Chase Manhattan bank, which has large loans to Phelps Dodge, to go along with the unions' campaign. The Steelworkers responded by withdrawing \$10.8 million in strike-fund investments from the bank.

Last November, Williams and Kirkland explained the new strategy to a solidarity rally for strikers in Tucson, Arizona. Kirkland told the rally that the strikers' fight was against "corporate greed ... which seems to have earned the government's seal of approval." He told them that, "We're all here to assure you of the complete solidarity of all the millions of members of the AFL-CIO."

These high-sounding words of support came as the unions were being decertified.

The campaign to expose Phelps Dodge could have been useful early in the strike if it had been used as part of a broader strate-

Continued on Page 12

CALENDAR

ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Movement for a Free United Ireland. Speakers: Eamonn Boyle, chairman, Phoenix Irish Northern Aid; Scott Egan, Tucson Irish Northern Aid; Elen Laufer, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 23, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell #3. Donation: \$2. For more information call (602) 272-4062.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

The Farm Crisis: What Future for U.S. Farmers? A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

COLORADO

Denver

Israeli War in Lebanon; New Stage in the Palestinian Struggle. Speaker: Yasir Allis, member of the Committee for a Democratic Palestine; David Martin, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 25 W 3rd Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA

Miami

Socialist Educational Weekend. Forum: "What U.S. Workers Can Learn From British Coal Miners and Irish Freedom Fighters." Fri., March 29, 8 p.m.

Classes on revolutionary continuity: 1. "Marxist Leadership in the United States; the

Lessons of Arizona copper miners battle

Continued from Page 11

gy centered on organizing the active participation of union members and their allies in solidarity against Phelps Dodge, the courts, and capitalist politicians who helped break the unions.

Instead, it came far too late and is actually being used as a strategy to win "solidarity" with the strikers from Wall Street bankers and stockholders!

The union officials' defense of profits will certainly please Wall Street investors and banks. But they are not going to join in solidarity with the labor movement in opposing union-busting. They are, after all, the capitalist institutions that are reaping the profits from union-busting and wage cutbacks that millions of workers have been forced to swallow.

Nor has the corporate strategy had much effect on the "friendly" copper companies that forced a giveback contract on the unions in 1983. Currently six of these companies, spearheaded by Kennecott, are threatening to close down their copper-producing facilities in New Mexico and Utah if the unions refuse to accept cutbacks worse than those that Phelps Dodge tried to force on union members in Arizona and Texas.

One central lesson of the copper miners' battle is that without effective solidarity, no matter how determined the strikers, the bosses' attacks cannot be held off or pushed back.

The class-collaborationist policies of the top labor officials are a trap and must be rejected by serious union militants.

Early Years 1848-1917." Sat., March 30, 12 noon. 2. "Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-22." Sat., March 30, 3 p.m. 3. "Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International." Sun., March 31, 3 p.m. Speaker: Dick McBride, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Translation to Spanish and Creole. 137 NE 54th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Farmers in Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Julius Anderson, Federation of Southern Cooperatives. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

Freedom Struggle Benefit. Featuring jazz singers, entertainers, and poets. The Ojeda Penn Experience, Alice Lovelace, Woodie Neal Parsons, and Lee Heuermann. Sat., April 13, 7 p.m. Atlanta Junior College Auditorium, 1360 Stewart Ave. Tickets: \$4 in advance, \$5 at the door. Children free. Ausp: National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 624-4331.

No More Vietnams in Central America and Caribbean! Down With Apartheid in South Africa! Join NBIPP on April 20 in going to Washington, D.C., for the march against war and oppression. For more information call (404) 622-4120 or 624-4331.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Report Back From Solidarity Trip to Free Nicaragua. Speakers: Craig Honts and Gail Shangold, just returned from coffee brigade and tour of Nicaragua. Sat., March 23, 8 p.m. 512 W Ormsby St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

Union Maids. Film documentary about women and the labor movement in the 1930s. Discussion to follow led by Jeanette Tracy, member Socialist Workers Party and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 496. Sun., March 31, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Nicaragua: What's Behind Reagan's Lies? Speaker: John Holloway, recently returned from international coffee brigade. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Cuba: A Force in the Caribbean for Peace. Panel to be announced. Sun., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor (Kenmore "T"). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The Farm Crisis: What Future for U.S. Farmers? A panel discussion. Sun., March 24, 7 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

A Commemoration of the 6th Anniversary of

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404.

ST. LOUIS: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

the Grenada Revolution. Showing of film *Maurice*. Speaker: Lenox Hines, professor at Rutgers School of Criminal Justice. Wed., March 27, 7 p.m. Robeson Center, Rutgers Newark campus. Ausp: Black Organization of Students. For more information call (201) 648-5976.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

The 'Contras'; The U.S. Attack on Nicaragua. A panel discussion. Speakers: Reid Brody, former assistant attorney general of New York, recently published report on the contras; Bill Means, International Indian Treaty Council; Ellen Ray, *Covert Action Information Bulletin*; and Nicaraguan speaker. Showing of film, *Nicaragua: Report From the Front*. Translation to Spanish. Thurs., March 28, 7 p.m. New York University Main Building, room 708, 100 Washington Sq. E. Ausp: Nicaragua Support Project. For more information call (212) 475-7159.

OHIO

Cleveland

Family Farmers Under Attack: Why Working People Should Support Their Fight. Speakers: John Burkett, State Board member, Ohio Family Farm Movement; Keith Stone, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

The True Story of the Vietnamese Revolution. Speaker: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

OREGON

Portland

What Strategy to Fight Union-busting, War, and Racism? A Socialist Perspective. Speaker: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. Sat., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 2732 N Union. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Puerto Rico: Struggle Against U.S. Colonialism. Speaker: Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York and *Militant* staff writer. Sat., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

British Miners' Strike: Lessons for U.S. Workers. Speaker: Kipp Dawson, Socialist Workers Party, member United Mine Workers Local 1197. Sat., March 30, 7 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Leonard Peltier and the Fight for Native American Rights. Speaker: Nudrat Sedigh, leader, Leonard Peltier Support Group and member Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 30, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Representative of African National Congress of South Africa Speaks Out. Neo Mnumzana, ANC representative to the United Nations. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. Pigott Auditorium (12th and Columbia), Seattle University. Ausp: Seattle Coalition Against Apartheid.

Socialist Educational Weekend. Forum: "U.S. Politics Today: Labor's Stake in the Fight Against War." Sat., March 23, 3 p.m. Classes: "The Founding of the Socialist Workers Party." Sun., March 24, 10:30 a.m. and 1 p.m. Speaker: Andrea Morell, Socialist Workers Party National Committee member. 5517 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2 per session (\$6 total). Ausp: SWP and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

The Crisis Facing Working Farmers. Film showing of *Dairy Queens*. Discussion to follow. Sat., March 23, 7 p.m. 221 Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

U.S. Agriculture in Crisis: What Can Be Done? Speakers: Charles Smith, Minnesota farmer recently returned from farmers' tour of Nicaragua, member of Young Socialist Alliance; representative of Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 23, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Suit against Klan goes to court

Continued from Page 4

people had the right to come from "outside the South" to press for social change? Did individuals have the right to encourage workers to join unions? Were the prospective jurors members of any union themselves? Did they think that labor organizers were communists? Were they or anyone they knew associated with Cone mills, one of the largest textile companies in the Greensboro area?

The 1979 shooting coincided with a wave of union organizing drives in North Carolina. The murderous attack was not just aimed at the Communist Workers Party and anti-Klan activists but against organized labor as well.

Black workers were the backbone of these organizing drives and the shootings

took place in the heart of one of the poorest Black neighborhoods in Greensboro. Part of the intent was clearly to intimidate Blacks from fighting for their rights.

The judge also questioned jurors about their attitudes toward the government's use of undercover agents and informers. An agent of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms rode in the Klan-Nazi caravan that opened fire on the demonstrators in 1979. Evidence has since come to light that agencies of the government were informed of the Klan's intentions prior to the demonstration. The suit charges that the police agents and agencies conspired with the Klan and Nazis against the rally.

The Greensboro Civil Rights Fund is representing the victims of the shootings in this suit.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Road. Zip: 75208. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 422 Shrewsbury St. Zip: 25301. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Turn your blood blue — The Prince of Wales broke royal precedent and donated a pint of blood. A blood bank official said the



Harry Ring

prince's contribution would not be specially labelled and would go anonymously to any patient in need. Good thinking. It would be embarrassing if someone said, "No, thanks."

Perfectly reasonable — A fed-

eral tax court judge ruled that Watergater G. Gordon Liddy did not have to pay taxes on some \$150,000 of income which he used to pay for various illegal activity to help reelect Tricky Dick Nixon. The ruling should give added substance to calling expense account records "swindle sheets."

Reading and writing still okay? — Right-winger Phyllis Schlafly and cohorts are demanding teachers get permission from parents before teaching about abortion, premarital sex, death, nuclear war, evolution, and 29 other "sensitive" subjects.

No dilettante he — "There is a Vietnamese specialty called cha gio, spring rolls of ground pork,

crab meat, onion, garlic, and seasoning, wrapped in thin rice paper, that I first tasted 20 years ago in Paris. It made such an impression that a few years later I travelled to Saigon to taste it at the source. The trip was more than worth the effort." — Food writer Craig Claiborne.

The company they keep — Federal cockroach researchers set out to find the toughest available strain of the little critters. By coincidence, these turned out to dwell in the halls of Congress.

The selling of Lady Liberty — Gold Leaf Corp. is putting up \$12 million for the right to create souvenirs from the debris resulting from the renovation of the Statue

of Liberty. The government fellow in charge of the statue assures that no item will be approved that lacks good taste. For instance, he said, nothing like the 1976 Bicentennial red, white, and blue toilet seat.

Prominent American personalities — According to the Associated Press, Ashley Whippet, the dog who three times won the world championship for canine frisbee catching, died in California. *The New York Times* headlined it, "Famous Dog Dies on Coast."

Far out — Since the Reagan administration approved burials in space, Rafael Ross of New York has been ready to launch bodies in

sturdy, light-weight containers resembling King Tut's tomb. \$10,000 a pound. On a budget? Send up the cremated ashes which usually run about four pounds. Choose the 1,900-mile polar orbit, the 22,300-mile orbit or the "de luxe trajectory into deep space." In the polar orbit, Ross estimates a body will be good for 63 million years.

Thought for the week — "We are now in a time of luxury. The funeral industry should stop worrying about charging too much for funerals and offer something outrageously expensive that we can all make money on!" — Spaceperson Rafael Ross at a meeting of funeral directors.

Danly strike: labor tops failed to mobilize solidarity

BY MALIK MIAH

Workers who struck the Danly Machine Corp. for nine months are being slowly called back to work. This comes after a takeback contract was approved by the union membership in January.

Danly is a machine-tool manufacturer in Cicero, Illinois, a mainly white working class suburb of Chicago.

AS I SEE IT

It is owned by the Ogden Corp., a large conglomerate that owns the giant, nonunion, Avondale shipyard in New Orleans.

Danly provoked the strike in an attempt to housebreak, if not destroy, the union. The union, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 15271, has long been a militant stronghold of the Steelworkers union in the Chicago area.

The Danly workers ended their strike January 22 after approving a three-year pact by a 229-82 vote of the union membership. This came after rejecting two similar contract offers.

The new pact includes a two-year wage freeze, with a 2.6 percent wage increase in the third year of the contract.

Scabs who crossed the picket line will keep their jobs. This means fewer than 120 union members are now back at work out of 700 employees. Another 175 strikers are to be called back by May.

New work rules were also agreed to. This means more job combinations and speed up.

A two-tier wage system was imposed. New employees will make about \$2.75 an hour less than older workers. It will now take two to four years to reach wage parity.

Joe Romano, president of the local, explained, "It [the

contract] certainly isn't one of the best contracts ever written." But, he added, "the agreement gives us some breathing room to be able to go back and work to maintain and strengthen our union in the plant."

Although the new pact is a setback for the union, the owners of Danly had to back down in their attempt to break the union entirely. For example, workers who don't join the union still have to pay the equivalent of union dues.

In addition, several workers dismissed for strike-related activities have been given lesser penalties.

There is a significance to the strike and settlement worth taking special note of. While the company only employed a modest work force — 1,600 with 1,300 in the union three years ago — the union membership and leadership has a history of standing up to the boss. The owners of Danly needed to teach them a lesson.

Romano, for example, led many shop-floor fights before being elected union president. As president, he was an active supporter of union reform. He backed Edward Sadlowski's bid to become international president of the Steelworkers union in the late 1970s. Sadlowski, a sub-district USWA director, was assigned by the union to help aid the strike.

The union local had backed municipal strikes in the recent past — including a 1983 Chicago teachers' strike — and held a collection for striking British miners even while on the picket line.

In conducting the strike the local leaders actively sought to involve the rank and file. Pickets were organized 24 hours a day, seven days a week. The leadership refused to buckle to a court order limiting the picket size. Membership meetings were frequently held.

What set back the strikers was the lack of active solidarity by the labor movement. A lot of verbal support was given; some financial aid, but not the type of support that could turn the tide.

Like in the copper strike in Arizona and Texas, the top union leadership failed the strikers. (See story on copper strike on page 11.) The pressures finally forced the workers to accept the takeback contract. They feared if they stayed out indefinitely, the threat of a decertification election would become real. Reactionary antilabor laws deny strikers a right to vote in such elections after one year. And that's what happened in the copper strike.

It is noteworthy that the Romano-Sadlowski leadership had no alternative perspective to that offered by their past opponents within the international officialdom. They came to support the USWA and AFL-CIO officialdom's new "corporate strategy" as the answer to the company's union-busting. The USWA tops led by Lynn Williams, the international president, supported a drive to convince Ogden's owners to order Danly management to settle the strike.

The union leadership organized a Citizens Committee to Aid the Danly Strikers. The committee waged a public campaign to bring pressure on Ogden's New York headquarters.

This corporate strategy put the workers' hopes on the goodwill of the owners, not the workers' natural allies — other unionists, Blacks, Latinos, women, and working farmers.

Sadlowski himself expressed the resignation of the officialdom when he said after the strike ended, "I can blow bugles, but if I don't have an army, all I'm going to be is a bugle blower."

There is an army of workers and their allies. But they can only be organized when the strategy of the labor movement is to mobilize them in effective solidarity for workers in battle. No other strategy or policy, no matter how determined and militant the workers involved, can defend the union and advance the interests of working people today.

Kansas City auto workers vote to support Marroquín

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Kan. — On January 19 United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 31 voted at its regular membership meeting to endorse the case of Héctor Marroquín. The local also voted to send \$50 to Marroquín's defense committee to help cover expenses.

Héctor Marroquín, Socialist Workers Party member who has been fighting attempts by the U.S. government to deport him to Mexico for his antiwar and other political views, has recently won important new support for his cause in Kansas City.

The vote followed closely a similar decision taken by the Greater Kansas City CAP Council held December 13. At that time, KC CAP — the political-action wing of the UAW — voted to endorse Marroquín's case and send \$100 to his defense committee.

Matt Snell, chairman of KC CAP, spoke at the December meeting to encourage UAW locals in the area to discuss supporting Marroquín.

UAW Local 31 member, Alvino Carrillo, told the *Militant*, "To understand how we were able to get KC CAP and our local to endorse Marroquín's case, it is necessary to go back to the fall of 1983. The Political Rights Defense Fund built a big rally for Héctor in Kansas City at that time."

Speakers at the event included representatives of unions: Rene García, a committeeman from UAW Local 31, and Judy Taylor, president of the Shawnee Mission U.S. National Education Association.

"In the audience was Bob Reed, then head of the Greater KC Labor Council."

Carrillo continued, "The rally drew 100 people and it must have had a big impact on Bob Reed. Following it he invited Marroquín to speak before the next meeting of the labor council."

Marroquín spoke and was interviewed by the *Labor Beacon*, the paper of the labor council.

"The labor council members were impressed by what Héctor said," Carrillo explained. "They voted to endorse Marroquín's case."

Marroquín came back to Kansas City in October 1984 and met with Harry Spring, the present head of the labor council. Spring became a Marroquín endorser and arranged for another interview with the *Labor Beacon*.

"Matt Snell meant to attend the meeting with Harry Spring, but at the last minute he couldn't make it," Carrillo said.

"We didn't let the matter drop. Dick Geyer, who is another member of Local 31, and Héctor Marroquín went to Snell's office," Carrillo continued. "They brought him literature, including the first *Labor Beacon* article."

"The meeting with Snell was very friendly, and he thought it was best that we come before the December 13 CAP meeting and explain Marroquín's case," Carrillo said.

"Dick Geyer made the presentation before CAP, and Snell took the floor right after he spoke. Snell said that Marroquín was a socialist, and that that made some people nervous. But Marroquín shouldn't be deported because of his ideas. He then

made a motion to support Héctor and moved \$100 be sent to his defense fund."

Carrillo continued, "We are going to keep on doing work. There are two other

big UAW locals in our area — Local 93 and Local 219.

"We are planning to arrange presentations before both of them," Carrillo said.

Martínez defense supports Marroquín

Francisco "Kiko" Martínez, a well-known Chicano activist, has been fighting a more-than-a-decade-long attempt by the U.S. government to silence him. Last fall he was cleared of the last three frame-up charges stemming from the 1973 case against him. Martínez was framed on the charge of mailing letter bombs to opponents of the Chicano movement.

But the government has not relented. In January of this year, an Arizona grand jury indicted Martínez for "giving a false name to federal officers" four years ago. After fleeing to Mexico in 1974, Martínez had assumed another name.

Héctor Marroquín, an undocumented worker from Mexico and leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, has waged a seven-year fight against deportation.

Marroquín sent a statement of support to Martínez, protesting the government's most recent attempts to frame him. Reprinted below is a letter Marroquín received from the Francisco E. Martínez Defense Committee. The letter, dated March 9, 1985, was signed by R. López for the committee.

Compañero Héctor Marroquín:

Because of your fearless defense of the rights of the undocumented worker in the USA and your advocacy of the politics of your party, the repressive forces have continued to try and silence you through deportation. On past occasions, and again today, we reaffirm our support for you and your cause.

Because of our experiences, which are somewhat similar to yours, we feel a special kinship to your struggle. It is these experiences that permit us to join forces on more than a single issue. Your letter of support and solidarity points out specifically the unstable situation that exists in Central America. It is the foreign policy of the North American government that is the provoking force of the carnage that nation is witnessing. To complement that foreign policy the ruling class has to silence domestic opposition. In these times it is a special duty on we the Latino people living in the USA to express ourselves clearly on this issue.

We will not let them silence Kiko nor will we permit them to silence you!

Sincere greetings of support and solidarity.

Behind Egypt-Jordan diplomacy

Lately, there's been a flurry of diplomatic activity and a big-business media barrage about efforts to reach a Mideast "peace" accord. These developments reflect new conditions in that region today.

Egyptian Pres. Hosni Mubarak and King Hussein of Jordan, who have both sought deals with U.S. and Israeli imperialism, have stepped up their campaign for negotiations between Arab regimes and the Israeli and U.S. governments. They argue that now — when the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) is weakened and divided, and can therefore be more easily excluded — is the time for the Israeli, U.S., Jordanian, and Egyptian governments to reach an accord.

Mubarak and Hussein are concerned that with each passing day imperialism's situation in the Mideast is deteriorating. Despite the Israeli invasion in 1982 and later intervention by thousands of other imperialist troops from the United States, France, Britain, and Italy, no stable proimperialist regime was established in Lebanon.

Nor were the Israeli and U.S. rulers successful in destroying the PLO — the other central objective of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The PLO suffered a major defeat, including losing a base of operations adjacent to Israel. But it survived and maintains overwhelming popular support among Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

Meanwhile, the political, social, and economic costs of maintaining the imperialist occupation of Lebanon became too high. Lebanese workers and peasants heroically battled the imperialist troops, and, despite terror bombing by the U.S. and Israeli forces, finally forced U.S., French, British, and Italian troops to withdraw in 1984. Continued resistance from Lebanese workers and peasants, combined with growing opposition at home, forced the Israeli regime to reluctantly begin a withdrawal of its own troops this past January.

In this context, Arafat took a major initiative on the diplomatic level by signing an accord with Hussein on February 11. Hussein — and later Mubarak — tried to falsely interpret the agreement to mean the PLO had renounced its struggle against the colonial-settler state of Israel, recognizing as "legitimate" the occupiers' government.

Mubarak flew to Washington and met with President Reagan, trying to convince U.S. officials that the Hussein-Arafat accord was a basis for preventing the PLO from playing any role in determining Palestine's future.

U.S. officials, however, didn't buy it. Imperialism seeks the total destruction of the PLO and opposes any negotiations that imply recognition of it. The U.S. rulers' real intentions were shown recently when the Reagan administration announced plans to boost U.S. military aid to Israel by \$400 million next year. This year Washington gave the Israeli regime \$2.6 billion in aid to help de-

fray the cost of its occupation of Lebanon.

The U.S. and Israeli imperialists share the same goals in the Mideast, but Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres has enthusiastically endorsed Mubarak's call for direct talks between his regime and a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Under no illusion that Mubarak's proposal would get off the ground, Peres' objective is to secure recognition of Israel from other reactionary Arab regimes, as the Egyptian government did in signing the so-called Camp David accords in September 1978.

Moreover, Peres agrees with Mubarak that such direct talks could be used to try to isolate the PLO.

The Hussein-Arafat agreement, however, clearly stands on the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people. It opens by stating that the accord emanates "from the spirit of the Fez summit resolutions." The summit meeting of the Arab League held at Fez, Morocco, in September 1982 called for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

In addition, the Hussein-Arafat accord explicitly states that the proposed negotiations will "include the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestine people...."

While U.S. officials rejected Mubarak's proposal for the Reagan administration to meet with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, they were encouraged by his efforts to isolate the PLO. U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz announced on March 15 that he was sending assistant secretary Richard Murphy to several countries in the region "to maintain the momentum...." Shultz said on an ABC-TV news program March 17 that Murphy's assignment will be to "see if it isn't possible" to put together a Palestinian delegation for future negotiations that excludes the PLO.

The U.S. and Israeli rulers reject the PLO and its fight for Palestinian national liberation. Palestinian self-determination and the Israeli state can't coexist. Israel came into being through a brutal war of terror against the Palestinian people that drove them off their land.

There can be no peace in the Mideast until the Palestinian people can return to their homeland and a democratic, secular Palestine replaces the current Israeli state.

The mounting imperialist pressure against the PLO and the Palestinian people must be countered. Working people should mobilize in solidarity with this oppressed people fighting for self-determination.

An important opportunity to do this will be the upcoming April 20 antiwar march in Washington, D.C., and other cities. Although the demonstration includes no demands against U.S. intervention in the Mideast, mobilizing the broadest participation in this protest can only aid anti-imperialist fighters in that part of the world.

James P. Cannon on early years of the 'Militant'

The following is excerpted from a November 10, 1978, *Militant* article by staff writer Harry Ring. Entitled, "Our founding editor: 'Without a paper, how are you going to build a movement?'" it is based on conversations Ring had with James P. Cannon, the first editor of the *Militant*. The article was written to mark the 50th anniversary of the *Militant*.

James P. Cannon, the founding leader of the American Trotskyist movement, was also the founding editor of the *Militant*.

In the fall of 1973, less than a year before he died, I interviewed Cannon about the early years of the *Militant*.

As Cannon filled in details and added recollections about the initial years of the *Militant*, one thing became

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

clear. The founders of American Trotskyism had fully absorbed Lenin's concept of the role of a newspaper in building a revolutionary party.

Lenin saw the development of an effective newspaper as key to the building of a party. The press, he emphasized, is the collective organizer of the party.

When the Trotskyists were expelled from the Communist Party fifty years ago, the first thing they did was publish a paper.

It wasn't easy.

"We didn't have any money to start with," Cannon explained. "We didn't even have a mimeograph machine."

"Everything we had was concentrated around the *Militant*. Just the physical process of getting out the *Militant* and finding the money somewhere to pay for it — that was the biweekly achievement.

"The paper is the voice of the movement. Without a paper, how are you going to build a movement?"

How did the *Militant* get its name?

It was Cannon's idea and the idea stemmed from his relationship with Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Cannon had been the national secretary of International Labor Defense, a nonpartisan committee initiated by the Communist Party in the mid-1920s to defend political prisoners.

Defense of Sacco and Vanzetti, the victimized anarchists, was a major activity of the ILD. Cannon visited Sacco and Vanzetti in prison several times.

He recalled a visit with Vanzetti that stayed particularly in his memory.

"We had a long talk," he said. "Vanzetti was talking about a third member of their group who had jumped, or was pushed, out of a ten-story building when the government agents had him prisoner and were examining him."

"I remember Vanzetti saying, 'He wouldn't have jumped. He was a good militant.'

"In the old radical movement," Cannon explained, "that was an ordinary expression. That's what you say about a person who's active and giving all they've got to the movement."

"I proposed this name to designate what we were, and it was accepted."

Cannon took particular pride in the fact that the *Militant* was internationalist from the outset and that it played an important role in building the world Trotskyist movement.

And despite the difficulties and pressures, members of the movement persisted in their stubborn efforts to get the paper out. They sold it to each individual they could reach and, whenever they obtained names, mailed copies abroad.

It was an extraordinarily difficult process, but it brought results.

An early but not easily attained goal was to establish the *Militant* as a weekly.

At the founding convention of the new organization, held in Chicago in May 1929, a special fund was launched for this purpose. The tiny organization set out to raise \$1,000.

They acquired a battered old linotype machine and an even older press. In November 1929 — a few weeks after the stock market crash — they began weekly publication.

As Cannon recalled that experience, you could see him relive it.

"We started out with high hopes with this thousand-dollar fund," he said. "But we never made it. It was just too much money for the comrades.... We overreached ourselves."

In July of 1930, they retreated back to a semi-monthly, but they persisted and finally, in July 1931, established the weekly *Militant*.

"The paper became quite professional," Cannon said. "Gradually — and sometimes by leaps — it became a recognized journal in the radical movement."

Illegal FBI-Customs harassment

A suit has been filed against the FBI and Customs Service for their illegal harassment of a Kansas City resident returning from a visit to Nicaragua.

Edward Haase, a radio engineer and free-lance journalist, was coming home January 16 from a two-month stay in Nicaragua. At the Miami airport, a Customs agent detained Haase and called in an FBI agent.

Haase was held for four hours and subjected to extensive grilling.

His personal address book and a diary of his visit were taken, and later he saw the FBI agent making a photocopy of his address book, diary, and other of his personal possessions.

The material taken included manuscripts of two articles he had written on Nicaragua, and a mailing list of groups associated with the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People.

Haase told a reporter that the FBI agent asked him "whether I had been contacted by the government in Nicaragua, who I worked for there, why I was interested in Nicaragua, where I was born and went to school, and whether I had been arrested."

In a move to put an end to such harassment, the Center for Constitutional rights has initiated court action on Haase's behalf.

This came after Michael Ratner, an attorney for the Center, contacted the FBI and asked that all copies of Haase's material be returned. The FBI refused, asserting its "right" to the material, and declaring that copies would be given to the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In mid-February, a federal judge issued a temporary restraining order forbidding the FBI from disseminating the material and requiring it to retrieve any it may have already passed out.

Haase has not been the only one illegally harassed on returning from Nicaragua. Last August, Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers 1984 presidential nominee, was sub-

jected to similar victimization on returning from Nicaragua. Targeted with him was Sam Manuel, who was Mason's San Francisco campaign coordinator. Manuel's literature was also confiscated. A receipt given Manuel described the confiscated literature as "possibly seditious."

Weeks later, the literature, which included Nicaraguan books and pamphlets Manuel bought for the San Francisco socialist bookstore, was returned. This victory was won after a Miami group opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America publicly rapped the Customs Service for seizing literature from two additional solidarity activists who had just returned from a tour in Nicaragua.

The FBI and Customs have persisted in such activity even though both cop agencies know full well that what they're doing is illegal.

This was testified to when the government made a 1982 out-of-court settlement with journalist William Worthy and two associates. On their return from a news visit to Iran, Customs and FBI cops confiscated copies of CIA documents published by Iranian students. The students had reproduced CIA material they found during the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Tehran.

When Worthy and his associates filed suit, the government returned the material and made an out-of-court cash settlement in order to avoid having the issue come to trial.

It is reported that several people whose names were in Haase's address book that the FBI copied are also considering court action, either in association with Haase or on their own.

Such challenges are necessary and important. The Customs-FBI harassment is designed to intimidate visitors to Nicaragua and all those opposed to Washington's drive to crush the Nicaraguan revolution. It is a part of the broader ruling-class drive against democratic rights, as well as a weapon in Washington's escalating Central American war.

Sharpeville Massacre shows bloody face of apartheid

March 21 of this year marks the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. Hundreds of U.S. supporters of the national liberation movements in southern Africa will be commemorating this date.

The bloody murder of Africans in Sharpeville and other towns on March 21, 1960, by the South African cops sparked widespread protest around the world. It also

tions, and demand that they all be arrested.

On the morning of March 21, 1960, the demonstrators began to gather. Tens of thousands of Africans around the country responded to the PAC call. The most massive turnouts were in Cape Town and in several towns south of Johannesburg.

In one of these towns, Sharpeville, demonstrators formed a procession three-quarters of a mile long and marched to the municipal offices. Cops attacked and dispersed the protesters.

But a little later 10,000 African men, women, and children surrounded the police station. They demanded that they be arrested for not carrying their passes, and were told that that was impossible because the jail couldn't hold all of them.

Later, without warning, the cops opened fire. The South African government said 67 demonstrators died in Sharpeville that day. More than 180 were injured. The overwhelming majority were shot in the back.

Black rage at the killings fueled a massive outpouring against the apartheid regime. Demonstrations broke out in Cape Town and other cities. Strikes involving thousands of workers erupted.

The South African regime responded with a brutal repression. By May 6 the government admitted that more than 18,000 Blacks had been arrested. In addition, 1,700 political activists were jailed under emergency regulations. Among those jailed were leaders of the ANC, PAC, and other groups.

The brutal crackdown broke the mass movement that was developing in the early 1960s. But, to the dismay of the South African regime, the relative quiescence that followed the 1960 protests gave way to a new Black political upheaval in the 1970s and 1980s.

But the current upsurge in anti-apartheid protest in South Africa is markedly different. Black workers are better organized, with hundreds of thousands of them belonging to Black trade unions. These unions joined with

community groups, church organizations, women's groups, students, and others in carrying out the largest political general strike in South Africa's history last November.

This strike against apartheid, which mobilized some 1 million Black workers in Transvaal province, came on the heels of a successful Black boycott of phony elections organized under a "reform" constitution.

The South African regime's response was again brutal repression. Hundreds of political and trade union activists have been arrested, including the central leaders of the United Democratic Front. The UDF is a broad coalition of anti-apartheid groups whose combined memberships total some 2 million people.

The massive upsurge in anti-apartheid activity within South Africa, and especially the involvement of Black trade unions in this fight, has inspired working people all over the world. Here in the United States, anti-apartheid activities have stepped up.

Many supporters of Black majority rule in South Africa are also helping to build the April 20 antiwar march in Washington, D.C., and other cities. The protest against the U.S. war in Central America includes a demand against U.S. support to the racist South African regime.

Moreover, the aims of the U.S. rulers are the same in both regions: to smash rising national liberation movements and maintain imperialist domination over the workers and peasants. The two liberation struggles are, therefore, connected, and solidarity with one helps the other.

Such solidarity is needed to aid anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa, who are preparing for the new battles to come. And that fact is something the South African rulers can't understand. No matter how many times they try to crush underfoot the Black organizations and leaders of African workers and peasants, new struggles will arise until Black majority rule is achieved.



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

revealed to broad layers of workers and farmers the brutal nature of the racist apartheid regime.

During the first months of 1960, waves of protest against the pass laws swept South Africa. This hated legislation requires every African over the age of 16 to carry a pass book with them at all times. The document contains the person's photograph, identity card, registration number, ethnic background description, tax receipts, work record, current address of employment, and employer's signature.

Any cop can demand to see it — day or night. Failure to produce an up-to-date pass on the spot is punishable by fine or imprisonment. Hundreds of Africans are arrested each day for violations of the pass laws.

Both the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC), the two liberation organizations, called anti-pass law demonstrations for March 1960. Robert Sobukwe, a leader of the PAC, called on Africans to "leave their passes at home" on March 21. The PAC urged the protesters to converge on police sta-

LETTERS

Ethiopian famine

The famine in Ethiopia is caused mainly by the underdevelopment forced upon Africa by 400 years of imperialism. This fact was well presented in Lee Martindale's article on the subject.

However, some major related questions were left unaddressed and might be taken up by a future *Militant* article. For example, the imperialist press has tried to tar the "Marxist Ethiopian regime" for contributing to the famine by refusing to allow relief convoys bearing food into Eritrean and other rebel areas, and by not moving the affected populations earlier to less arid zones. Is there any truth at all to these charges? And might the failure of agriculture in Ethiopia be more aptly attributed to its *not* being a nationalized sector of the economy? Thus, the failure would be one of capitalist or subsistence agriculture.

Answers to these questions might bring the issues into yet sharper focus. [See story on page 5.]

Albert Cassorla
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

PUSH hears Ray Hooker

I recently heard Ray Hooker, a Black Nicaraguan leader, address an enthusiastic crowd that packed the Operation PUSH headquarters on Chicago's South Side. Hooker was in Chicago for a tour organized by Operation PUSH and the Chicago Committee in Support of the Nicaraguan People.

Hooker appeared at the regular Saturday morning meeting of Operation PUSH with the Rev. Jesse Jackson. He invited Jackson to visit Nicaragua to see for himself the suffering caused by the U.S.-organized war against the Nicaraguan people.

Hooker told the crowd he had no doubt that the U.S. administration would send troops against Nicaragua and pointed to the invasion of Grenada as an example. "But," Hooker said, "we shall never accept to be slaves again — never."

Throughout the tour, Hooker emphasized the tremendous gains made by the Nicaraguan revolution. He explained the land distri-

bution program and the literacy campaign that reduced the illiteracy rate from 60 percent to 12 percent in just five years.

He explained the advances in introducing autonomous regional governments for the peoples of the Atlantic Coast who suffered national oppression under the Somoza regime.

Hooker answered questions about Nicaragua's draft army and conscription policy. He explained that the army would not be able to function if there were not tremendous support for the revolution among the whole population.

Throughout the tour, Hooker was able to answer the many questions and confusions that many people had as a result of the State Department and big-business media campaign to discredit the Nicaraguan revolution. We need to make the most of opportunities to let working people in the U.S. know the truth about Nicaragua.

Cathleen Gutekanst
Chicago, Illinois

Saturn Project

I enjoyed the article in the March 15 issue of the *Militant* on GM's much-heralded Saturn Project.

GM plans to make Saturn a "state of the art" auto company — the latest in advanced robotics, computerized engineering, and futuristic design. But the capitalists use new technology as they use anything else: as a weapon against our standard of living. In fact, the new technology of Saturn means new levels of exploiting the work force.

GM has launched a major public relations blitz to sell Saturn. As the article points out, Democratic and Republican politicians, in conjunction with the big-business media, have since jumped in, doing their part to promote GM's plans. A major part of this scam is the competition for the Saturn plantsite. Some of GM's requirements for any prospective site include nearness to population and transportation centers. But everyone knows the principal requirements: sizeable tax breaks and union officials who are prepared to make major concessions.

At this point, some 18 states are vying for the 20,000 jobs the plant will supposedly provide. Even this figure is a fraud: industry observers are predicting that, due to Saturn technology, up to 90,000 jobs in the auto-parts industry will be lost. In Ohio alone there are 80 cities or regions that are competing with each other to get the Saturn plant. In town after town, local officials try to outbid each other in tax giveaways to GM, while labor leaders extol the virtues of the local work force.

In Youngstown, union leaders teamed up with local politicians to host a "Rally for Saturn." Not to be outdone, local TV, radio, and newspapers in Cleveland are encouraging people to write "Welcome Saturn" postcards to Detroit. One radio station here editorialized, "What can you do? Write to local officials, telling them they must lower the burdensome tax levels corporations must pay."

Unfortunately, a lot of workers fall for the trap of thinking you can win jobs by competing with other sections of the working class to see who can be more "productive." But in reality, the *only* way to secure the right of everyone to a decent job is to stand up and fight the bosses, to join in solidarity with all workers, here and abroad; and eventually to eliminate capitalism altogether.

Bill Kalman
Cleveland, Ohio

Ambulance for Nicaragua

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are seeking funds to send ambulances to Nicaragua. That campaign was kicked off with ads that appeared in the *New York Times* and *The Nation*.

As a combatant in the Spanish Civil War, I recall the enormous boost in morale every expression of support represented. For me, field hospitals, medical personnel, and ambulances had special meaning. After being wounded at the Ebro River in August 1938, I was evacuated in an ambulance with the words "From the West Virginia Friends of Republican Spain" painted on its side.

The president of our country is



unrelenting in his determination to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution. Although a political failure, the violent military intervention by the CIA's *contras* goes on daily and at a bloody cost. Ten thousand Nicaraguans have already been killed, and medical aid remains crucial.

Our appeal, first made in December, has produced an encouraging response. We may be on the way toward purchasing a fourth or fifth ambulance. Will your readers make this possible? Checks should be sent to Ambulance Fund, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Room 227, 799 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Saul Wellman
Seabrook, Maryland

frame-up, the district attorney has refused to say he will not retry Grace. Harassment against Grace continues because he never gave up the convictions he held that led to the police frame-up. While in prison he fought for the rights of prisoners as well as for his own release.

At a rally of 200 people to celebrate his release on January 29, Grace said, "You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail a revolution."

Hopefully, Grace's liberation will inspire and give hope to the other victims of the police and government's terror campaign against Black activists who remain in prison.

Russell Davis
Lynn, Massachusetts

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Miners union fights union-busting, wins solidarity in W. Va. strike

BY ERIC SIMPSON

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The owners of A.T. Massey Coal Co. have escalated their union-busting war against the United Mine Workers (UMW).

The union struck Massey subsidiaries in West Virginia and other states on Oct. 1, 1984. Massey refused to sign the national contract that the union negotiated with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) that was signed in the fall of last year. Seventy-three union members here in Mingo County in southern West Virginia are still on strike.

Massey is stepping up its violence against the strikers and UMW supporters. On March 15, a 16-truck convoy of loaded coal haulers rammed a small car off a West Virginia mountain road, crushing the car and hospitalizing the four miners who were riding in it.

The strike supporters were heading for lunch at a union-organized center in Lobata, West Virginia, where UMW members are on strike at Massey's Spruce Creek Coal Processing complex.

According to published reports, the first two trucks passed the car and then began slowing down in an attempt to sandwich the car between them and the third truck in the convoy. The third truck rammed the car from behind, pushing it off the highway. The trucks did not stop, but continued their trip to the fenced-in confines of the Spruce Creek plant.

Public enemy number 1

Massey is widely perceived as public enemy number one in southern West Virginia. Massey mines 6.5 million tons of coal a year in West Virginia, 70 percent of it nonunion. Massey is the state's third-largest coal producer.

Massey is also the country's fifth-largest producer and second-leading exporter of coal. The company is the product of a partnership between the owners of Royal Dutch Shell, an oil company with assets of \$75 billion, and the Fluor Corp., the nation's largest construction company. Massey owns dozens of subsidiaries in four states, but maintains the fiction that each is an independent company, selling coal to Massey as a broker. On this basis the company has insisted that the union negotiate separately with each of its subsidiaries. The UMW is demanding that Massey negotiate a master agreement and extend seniority and recall rights (panel rights) throughout its system of mines.

The UMW has marshaled impressive forces into battle over the last month with mass pickets, demonstrations, and protest rallies. The union is calling on union members from as far away as Canada and Utah for solidarity.

On March 13, hundreds of miners were deployed by the union as A.T. Massey made its second attempt in five and a half months to run stockpiled coal from its struck Big Bottom mine in Kentucky to the Spruce Creek plant. A 15-truck convoy traveled with heavy protection from gun-carrying thugs, state police, and a company helicopter.

Union pickets stopped the convoy at the West Virginia-Kentucky border. Supporters parked their vehicles in both lanes of the two-lane highway, forming a serpentine road block. This allowed normal-sized vehicles to pass, but stopped the huge coal trucks. It took state police an hour to clear a path for the trucks, issuing citations and removing the union vehicles.

At that point, union demonstrators gathered in front of the lead truck and "escorted" the caravan at a walking pace to the processing complex. What would have been a 10-minute drive took three and a half hours. One driver stopped his truck

and announced he was quitting. Unionists drove him back to his home in Kentucky.

Railroaders' solidarity

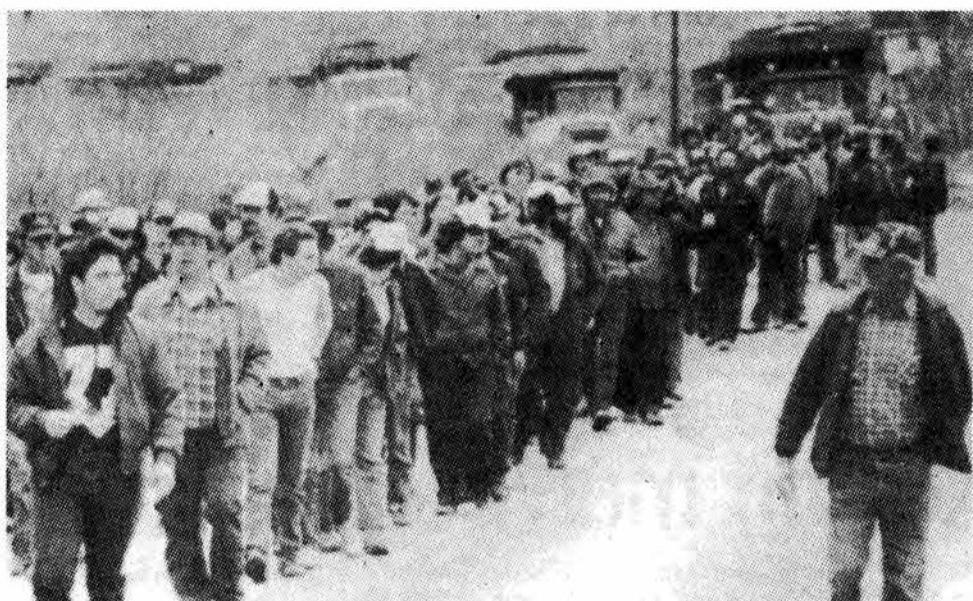
At the same time, another victory was scored as a union "escort" and sit-in prevented Norfolk and Western Railroad police and supervisory personnel from bringing locomotives into the Spruce Creek plant to pull out loaded railroad hopper cars. It is widely reported in the coalfields that union railroaders employed by Norfolk and Western and the Chessie system have refused to cross UMW picket lines.

The next day, however, the same convoy of coal trucks ran a union blockade, wantonly endangering demonstrators. The trucks damaged 10 vehicles involved in the picket and injured at least one demonstrator. State police arrested 10 miners on charges of throwing rocks, but allowed the truckers to proceed to the Spruce Creek plant without stopping.

It was the same parade of trucks and thugs that ran over the union car the following day.

There has been a massive mobilization of state police in the Williamson, West Virginia, area. Their role has been to protect the interest of the company. Hundreds of union supporters have been arrested as state troopers clear the way for Massey bosses to run scab coal.

The supposedly neutral National Labor Relations Board asked for and received on March 16 a federal injunction against mass union protests at the Spruce Creek site.



Miners' protest slowed down trucks hauling scab coal. The 10-minute trip to struck processing plant took three and a half hours.

New labor support has come for the UMW local at Spruce Creek. Lowell E. Johnson, president of the West Virginia Education Association (WVEA), wrote, "The nonmining members of labor in West Virginia have always looked to the members of the UMW as models of leadership, bravery and stamina. I hope this letter will help remind your membership of how important your fight is and how dedicated the remainder of labor is to assisting you."

On March 16, 300 members of USWA

Local 14398 in Southern Williamson, Kentucky, took out a one-third page ad in a local paper expressing their continued solidarity with their brothers and sisters in the UMW.

Joseph W. Powell, president of the West Virginia Labor Federation, has also extended solidarity. "Your fight to maintain the union," he wrote to the Spruce Creek UMW local, "is crucial to all the labor movement in West Virginia. We compli-

Continued on Page 10

Talks reopen in Pan American strike

BY LOUIS LONG

MIAMI, March 18 — After two and a half weeks on strike, negotiations resumed between representatives of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) and Pan American Airlines.

Pan Am claims it is running about half of its regular flights in spite of the strike. But visiting an airport with a Pan Am maintenance base shows this is not true. At Miami and Kennedy airports, dozens of Pan Am planes — from 727s to the giant 747s — are parked, not flying anywhere. And for the planes that are flying, striking TWU mechanics are raising serious questions about their safety.

All TWU mechanics are on strike. Maintenance work on Pan Am planes that are flying is being handled by supervisors. But very few supervisors are qualified to work on the planes.

Strikers point out that supervisors are working only with the complicity of Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) inspectors. The whole operation is dangerous and illegal. The FAA is approving the supervisors in direct violation of federal aviation regulations, such as FAR 65.81. As one striking mechanic put it, "Would you fly on a plane where the engine was replaced by a supervisor who hasn't picked up a wrench in 20 years?"

When FAA officials were questioned about this by a reporter from the *Miami News*, the FAA said that the supervisors are more qualified than the striking mechanics and that the supervisors had trained the mechanics in the first place. This brought laughs from the strikers. They say it is the mechanics who constantly explain maintenance procedures to the supervisors.

In other strike developments, the company retreated on its threats to end paying insurance premiums on March 15. Also, workers who service Pan Am planes in other countries have been informed of the

strike by the TWU. Cables were sent to the International Transport Workers Federation and to the Japan Federation of Civil Aviation Workers. But there is no news of job actions in other countries to support the strike.

While the negotiations have resumed, the owners of Pan Am have not let up their pressure on the striking workers. In addition to using supervisors and scab flight attendants, management is taking advantage of the strike-breaking pilots. Members of the Air Line Pilots Association continue

crossing TWU picket lines after honoring them for the first week of the strike. Not only have they accepted their own takeback contract, but some of the pilots are working as flight attendants since Pan Am is not flying enough planes to put all the pilots in cockpits.

The striking TWU members, and the Teamsters and Flight Attendants who are supporting them, need the active support of the labor movement and other working people to push back Pan Am's antiunion assault.

N.Y. meetings mark 6th anniversary of the Grenada revolution

NEW YORK — Two meetings took place here to mark the sixth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, Grenada revolution. On March 17, some 100 people gathered at Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn to commemorate the Grenada revolution, which was overthrown in October 1983. Thousands of U.S. troops invaded the Caribbean country following the overturn of the revolutionary government.

The Brooklyn rally was sponsored by the Grenada Foundation, Grenada Center, and Center for Women's Development at Medgar Evers. Cosponsors of the event included the Jamaica Democratic Association-U.S.A., Committee for a Free Grenada, the Queens chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, and other Black and Caribbean organizations.

On March 15, some 70 people attended a Militant Labor Forum entitled "The Legacy of the Grenada Revolution." Speakers at the meeting were Joachim Mark, a noted Grenadian historian; Letisha Wadsworth from the Metropolitan Black United Front; Wilton DeCoteau of the Grenada Foundation; Mohammed Oliver, a staff writer for

the *Militant*; and a representative of Dominican Socialist Bloc supporters in New York City.

The speakers discussed the achievements of the four and a half years of the Grenada revolution and the lessons to be learned from its overthrow. Mark visited Grenada last December to help campaign for the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. He reported that the MBPM held the largest and most spirited campaign rallies, enjoying significant support from the Grenadian masses. As a result of the U.S. repression, however, the many MBPM supporters stayed away from the polls on December 3, said Mark.

The March 17 Brooklyn meeting heard Jay Carrington Chunn II, president of Medgar Evers; Joachim Mark; Wilton DeCoteau; and Archie Singham, a professor at Brooklyn College. The commemoration was chaired by Dessima Williams, former Grenadian ambassador to the Organization of American States. Williams also gave concluding remarks to the gathering. The meeting closed with a showing of the Cuban film *Maurice*.